Spain: First Tremor—*J. Alvarez del Vayo*

THE Nation

March 24, 1951

PAUL BLANSHARD

Belgium and Beyond

Can the Public Schools Survive in Europe?

*

Wilson's Labor Policy

"Unfair, Unwise, and Undemocratic"

BY WILLARD SHELTON

*

Morocco Wants Freedom - - - - - - - - *Claude Bourdet*
Big Dam in a Big Pit - - - - - - - *Richard L. Neuberger*
Asia Is Just as Important - - - - - - - - *Andrew Roth*
Sources of Totalitarianism - - - - - - - *H. Stuart Hughes*
The Art of Willa Cather - - - - - *Joseph Wood Krutch*

20 CENTS A COPY : EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 : 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

MAR 27 1951
The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine . . $9.50
You Save $2.50

☐ Consumers Reports . $10.75
You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* *by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12

☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR
Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

_____

_____

_____

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

3/24/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 24, 1951 NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

WITH ITS OPEN MEETING IN NEW YORK THE work of the Kefauver Committee has reached a climactic point. As in a dozen other cities, it has summoned to the witness stand alleged gang leaders and racketeers, big and little, politicians, public officials, and police chiefs, and extracted testimony which throws a fierce light on the operations of the underworld industry of gambling. Yet following the proceedings we had the impression that for all their consummate digging, Senator Kefauver and his colleagues have not yet hit the real pay dirt. Or, to change the metaphor, they have assembled much of a large and intricate jig-saw puzzle but have still to find many of the pieces essential to the appreciation of the whole picture. Perhaps some of these key fragments will turn up in the committee's final report which it will begin to write shortly. That prospect will be discussed in an early issue by our Washington correspondent, Willard Shelton. Meanwhile we would like to suggest one thought to the committee and the public which has been following the latest hearings with avid interest. So far the inquiry has been concerned with the supply side of the gambling industry. But what about the demand that makes the business so enormously profitable? Why are millions of Americans ready to pour billions of dollars annually into the pockets of bookmakers, operators of policy games, and owners of slot machines? What is the emotional need that drives so many people to gamble? One of the recommendations of the Kefauver Committee might well be the appointment of a properly qualified body of sociologists and psychologists to seek answers to such questions.

*

BY APPPOINTING A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO "intervene and investigate" the business of *La Prensa*, Perón's legislature has in effect ended the life of the great journal. If it continues to come out, it will be as a voice of the Perón regime, a fate considerably worse than death for a newspaper of *La Prensa's* traditions. But the victory of the regime may prove a sour one. Certainly Perón must be astonished by the indignation expressed in Washington at his act of political vandalism. Why, he must be wondering, should the persecution of *La Prensa* cause so much more uproar than a thousand other acts of repression? Why should an Administration which has lately gone out of its way to cozen and make overtures to him, suddenly begin talking about "grave damage done to Argentine-United States relations"? The fact is, of course, that what must appear to a simple-hearted dictator as outrageous hypocrisy is a most normal expression of normal United States inconsistency. For one thing, we cherish a firm belief in our belief in freedom of the press. For another, Assistant Secretary of State Miller during his recent visit to Argentina witnessed the outrages committed against *La Prensa* by Perón's hoodlums and even ventured some fruitless diplomatic objections. And from every point of view it is annoying to the State Department to have an incident like this occur just before the American foreign ministers assemble in Washington to conform their policies in the face of the Communist challenge to democracy and freedom. To be sure the department is collaborating without visible pain with a dozen Latin American dictators quite as adept at repression as Perón, but so far at least they have staged no demonstrations calculated to destroy the illusion of democratic solidarity. (Washington still hears the horrid echoes of the revolutionary explosions in Bogotá in 1948.) Perón's behavior would doubtless be regarded as reprehensible at any time, but today it is worse than wicked, it is also tactless. And this, if he only knew it, explains the stern indignation of a State Department which has watched with little more than a sigh of regret the disappearance of the rest of the free press and all the other freedoms in Perón's Argentina.

*

PERSIAN NATIONALISTS, CAPITALIZING ON the emotional upheavals that followed the assassination of Premier Ali Razmara, last week pushed through the lower house of the Majlis a bill expropriating the huge Anglo-Iranian Oil Company within the next two months. Razmara's murder stemmed from his opposition to nationalization of the British-owned company; evidently none of the legislators envied his fate, for their vote was unanimous. As the week began, the Persian Senate was awaiting a report on the bill from a special committee, but its approval was taken for granted in Teheran. Already the nationalists are setting their sights on their next objective—the tiny, oil-rich, Persian Gulf island of Bahrein, an independent Arab kingdom under British protection, claimed by Persia since 1921. George C. McGhee, American Assistant Secretary of State, in Teheran for a brief visit, doubtless had some thoughts on this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 261
Korea: Stop! Look! Listen! 264
Bolder New Program? 265

ARTICLES

Spain: First Tremor *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 266
Wilson's Labor Policy *by Willard Shelton* 268
Morocco Wants Freedom *by Claude Bourdet* 269
Big Dam in a Big Pit *by Richard L. Neuberger* 272
Asia Is Just as Important *by Andrew Roth* 274
Science Notebook *by Leonard Engel* 276
The Vatican Versus the Public Schools. IV. Belgium and Beyond *by Paul Blanshard* 277
Everybody's Business: The St. Lawrence Seaway, II *by Keith Hutchison* 279

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

In Memoriam *by Mark Van Doren* 280
Historical Sources of Totalitarianism *by H. Stuart Hughes* 280
The Art of Willa Cather *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 281
Land of Revivals *by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* 282
Oh, Play That Thing! *by Weldon Kees* 283
Out of Kafka *by Robert Phelps* 284
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 284
Art *by Manny Farber* 285
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 286

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 287

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 405 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 288

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

subject when he talked to Premier Hussein Ala, for the Bahrein oil operations are conducted by Americans. In Egypt repercussions are heard: nationalization of the Suez Canal Company will shortly be proposed in Parliament.

×

IN SEEKING AN EXPLANATION FOR THESE anti-foreign manifestations, it is a naive oversimplification to give the Communists full credit. Russia certainly looks with favor on any weakening of the Anglo-American hold on Middle Eastern oil, and its propaganda finds ready listeners in a land where the fantastic wealth of the small, corrupt ruling group contrasts so harshly with the grinding poverty of the bulk of the people. But even if there were no Russia to give aid and comfort to the Persian nationalists, their anger would still surge forth. For as Philip Toynbee wrote in the New York *Times*, "No country in the world is happy to have its most valuable resources exploited by foreigners." Whether technically backward and perennially insolvent Persia could run the complicated enterprise, cope with the bewildering problems of sales and transportation, and pay the British an indemnity variously estimated at from $800,000,000 to $1,400,000,000 are difficult questions that the Persians must ponder in the next two months. Britain will not give up this property without hard bargaining. It is most unlikely that any Persian government could reverse the decision taken by the Majlis. The possibility of amicable settlement now rests on the hope of a compromise whereby, under Persian ownership, the British would be in charge of operations in return for first priority in purchasing at a favored rate all the oil they need.

×

THE SUDDEN DECISION OF THE REPUBLICANS in Congress to try to kill the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, even while they ask Senator Fulbright to continue his inquiry, now scheduled to end on April 10, reveals much about the state of mind prevailing in the Grand Old Party. The Republicans apparently think it desirable, in preparation for the election next year, to make a frontal attack on every Administration stronghold. As recently as 1948 an Eightieth Congress subcommittee controlled by Republicans cited the "extremely useful and vital function" of the RFC during the depression and the war and also declared that such an agency should be kept in existence, for standby purposes, even in normal times. The Republican Congress thereupon passed a law continuing the RFC for six years. Yet now, when a clear emergency requires the use of government loans to finance industrial expansion, the G. O. P. has reversed its stand. Nothing in the Fulbright committee's disclosures justifies so drastic a shift. Favoritism, influence-peddling, and sloppy administration have been exposed, but even in recent years the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RFC has operated at a clear profit, and few of its loans have gone sour. What is needed is tightened office procedure, and that is provided for in the reorganization plan belatedly offered by the President. One is forced to assume that the most conservative Republicans, who have always disliked the RFC because of its influence on interest rates and the pattern of industrial expansion, are seizing the opportunity created by political scandal to persuade their colleagues that the country should be turned back exclusively to the banks, insurance companies, and other lenders for private profit.

*

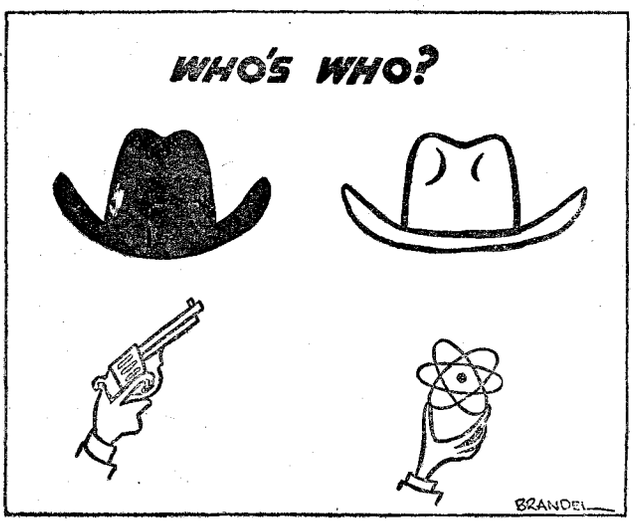
FINANCIAL CIRCLES CONTINUE TO DEBATE the nature of the Treasury-Federal Reserve agreement, full details of which have not been published. A partial victory at least for the Federal Reserve system seemed to be indicated when its Open Market Committee withdrew standing bids for long-term government securities on March 8 and left the market to find its own level. This was an assertion of the Federal Reserve's independence, an indication that it was no longer giving the Treasury's policy of maintaining a rigid interest structure priority over its own responsibility for curbing credit inflation. On the other hand, the appointment a week later of William McChesney Martin, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to succeed Thomas B. McCabe as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board suggested that Secretary of the Treasury Snyder had won after all by securing command of the opposition camp. True, Mr. McCabe "recommended" Mr. Martin in his letter of resignation, but this might mean no more than Louis Johnson's suggestion that General Marshall succeed him as Secretary of Defense. Reports from Washington indicate, however, that Mr. Martin is actually acceptable to both sides and his appointment a genuine harmony move. The difficulty is that there remains a substantial conflict of interests which cannot be compromised away altogether. Since the government bond market, if left to its own devices, sinks to levels that appreciably add to borrowing costs, the Treasury will almost certainly insist that the Federal Reserve renew its support, even though that would weaken its control of credit. However, although since March 8 several government issues have dipped below par there has been no sign of the kind of distress selling that creates disorderly trading conditions. So far, therefore, the Federal Reserve view that the Treasury's fears of a free market were exaggerated has been vindicated.

*

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DELAY IN passing the wheat-for-India bill rests squarely on the Democratic leadership of the House. Faced with the threat of Republican efforts to amend the measure, the Democrats have let the Rules Committee sit on it while the House merrily prepares to go home for Easter. This means that action is unlikely before mid-April, despite a substantial bi-partisan vote favoring the bill on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and prior passage by the Senate. A formidable floor fight is in prospect, for many Republicans will attempt to make the wheat a loan instead of a gift, and will insist on using "hard bargaining" to force India to sell us strategic materials. They may even attack the expenditure of funds to recondition ships for transporting the wheat. But nothing is gained by ducking the fight or by a show of casual indifference to delays within the Rules Committee. Careful analysis of India's economic situation preceded the decision to offer the wheat as a gift rather than on a loan basis. India agreed to set up counterpart funds for improving its internal economy, which is the system used in Europe in connection with Marshall Plan aid. Political differences with Prime Minister Nehru are no excuse for driving a "hard bargain" with starvation; our relations with India, or with Asia as a whole, are not likely to be improved if what we do is done grudgingly and in a harsh spirit.

*

UNDER AN ANTI-HATE STATUTE PASSED IN 1917, the Illinois Supreme Court last month sustained a criminal conviction for libeling Negroes as a group. While in a few instances convictions for libel of organizations have been upheld, the Illinois case marks the first successful prosecution in America involving a racial or religious minority. The court, relying on the clear-and-present-danger test, said, ". . . the libelous publication . . . refers to Negroes as a class possessing various criminal tendencies, unchastity, and degrading sexual inclinations, all of which are 'fighting words' liable to cause violence and disorder among the races." To the argument that the accused should have been allowed to prove the truth of his charges, the court said the nature of the material precluded the explanation that it was published



[For answer see page 264]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with good motives and for justifiable ends. "In fact, it is hard to see how, with the libelous publication in evidence, any proof of good motives or justifiable ends could be introduced. In the only other suit under this law, members of Jehovah's Witnesses were acquitted because their alleged libeling of Catholics was not done in "public places." The best-known previous attempt of a state to prevent libeling of a minority failed in 1941 when a New Jersey statute used against the German-American Bund was ruled unconstitutional by that state's high court. Apart from the implications of a catch-all use of the clear-and-present-danger doctrine, the Illinois decision is a significant guidepost on the disputed boundary between group libel and freedom of speech, a frontier that has disturbed civil-liberties experts for a long time.

*

WHILE MOST ATTENTION IS CONCENTRATED elsewhere, Senator McCarran is attempting to push through Congress a general revision of the immigration laws infused with the same spirit of vindictiveness that marked his Communist-control bill last year. With the cooperation of Representative Walter of Pennsylvania, McCarran is holding a series of joint sessions of the House and Senate Judiciary subcommittees and has refused even to consider a bill proposed by Representative Celler of New York that would liberalize the regulations. Americans for Democratic Action last week recommended substantial changes in the bills sponsored by McCarran and Walter, pointing out that if we continue to base immigration policy on a national-origins quota system, it would only be fair to use 1940 or 1950 census figures instead of the obsolete 1920 statistics, which do not reflect the actual make-up of our population today. The A. D. A. statement asked for elimination of retroactive provisions under which naturalized citizens can be deported for having been members of "totalitarian" organizations abroad, even though at the time of their naturalization such past connections were not considered a bar to citizenship. It further pointed out that one provision of the McCarran bill, directed against residents of the British West Indies, would inevitably be interpreted as discriminating against Negroes of foreign birth. The basic 1924 immigration laws were inexcusably racist in concept, but they have been slowly improved. To write new laws reflecting doctrinaire and racist concepts more rigid than anything dreamed of in 1924 would be to turn the clock back and damage our prestige in vast areas where the new nationalisms are stirring.

*

LAST OCTOBER A PROGRAM WAS OUTLINED for an "eighth dominion" of the Commonwealth made up of the colonies of South Rhodesia, North Rhodesia, and the Nyassaland Protectorate. The advocates of this Central African Federation clearly contemplated a somewhat more gentlemanly version of South Africa, and it was bitterly opposed by Africans in North Rhodesia and Nyassaland, who preferred to remain under British protection until ready to govern themselves. A solution of this conflict is now being sought in London at a meeting of British officials from the areas concerned. Economic cooperation is essential for development of this rich area. Thus, North Rhodesian copper resources require the coal of South Rhodesia for smelting. The Central African Council—a purely advisory body—supervises such common services as currency, and air and radio networks. The stumbling-block to full political cooperation is whether the "eighth dominion" would be controlled by its European minority of 1 per cent or by its 99 per cent African majority. No final solution is likely to come out of the current conference, but it may well propose a new and stronger Central African Council with power to run communications and joint economic undertakings.

Korea: Stop! Look! Listen!

ONCE again the tide of battle in Korea is flowing strongly with the United Nations. Outflanked east of Seoul, when American troops thrust across the River Han, the Chinese and North Korean forces hastily evacuated the capital city, which was reoccupied on March 14 without fighting. Next day they likewise withdrew from Hongchon, key road junction of the central front, which is only twenty miles south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

Compared with what it was two months ago, the position of the United Nations army is enormously improved. Yet while the enemy forces have been compelled to retreat and have suffered heavy losses, they have not been decisively beaten. The Chinese still have immense reserves, if they care to throw them into the fight, and as they withdraw to the north their logistic disadvantage lessens.

The question, What next? has become, therefore, very pertinent. Should the United Nations army pursue the enemy beyond the Parallel, or should it seek a defensive position, not exactly coinciding with that purely arbitrary line but in the most suitable terrain thereabouts? Seeking answers to such questions from the men on the spot, Lieutenant General Matthew B. Ridgway, the field commander, and General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief, we get comments which do not necessarily conflict but do indicate different angles of approach. Asked about prospects for a cease-fire at the old frontier, General Ridgway told a front-line press

---

Answer to Who's Who?—Hopalong Cassidy, Pres. Truman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conference on March 12: "It would be a tremendous victory for the United Nations if the war ended with our forces in control up to the Thirty-eighth Parallel." He went on to explain why he disagreed with the view that anything short of complete conquest of China would be indecisive. "We didn't set out to conquer China. We set out to stop communism. We have demonstrated the superiority on the battlefield of our men. . . . If China fails to drive us from Korea, she will have failed monumentally."

General MacArthur, on the other hand, seems to feel that his campaign will be a complete failure if the Chinese are not driven back to Manchuria. Replying to a cabled inquiry from Hugh Baillie of the United Press, who wanted to know "how many troops would be required to hold the Thirty-eighth Parallel," the General said that, in view of the terrain, a defense in depth "would require such a sizable force that if we had it, and could logistically maintain it, we would be able to drive the Chinese Communists back across the Yalu, hold that river as our future main line of defense, and proceed to the accomplishment of our mission in the unification of Korea." Failing the provision of such a force, he added, "we can and will . . . continue our campaign of maneuver as the best means to neutralize the military disadvantages under which we fight."

General MacArthur acknowledged that "the problem involved much more fundamental decisions than are within my authority . . . decisions which must not ignore the heavy cost in Allied blood which a protracted and indecisive campaign would entail." Certainly no one can contemplate with equanimity the prospect of such a campaign or its effect on the morale of our forces. But what about the costs of an attempted new march to the Yalu, for which General MacArthur is obviously hankering? Is it really to be supposed that we could hold the Yalu line without becoming involved in full-scale war with China and, perhaps, with Soviet Russia also?

The fact is that in Korea we have a bear by the tail: we dare not let it go, but neither can we knock the strongly squirming creature on the head. On the other hand, the Peking government must realize by now that it has bitten off more than it can chew. It has achieved no gains compensating for its very heavy losses, and it can have but few hopes of throwing the United Nations forces out of Korea. To keep such forces engaged is, no doubt, a Russian interest, but is it a Chinese one? Only, it would seem, on the assumption that if pressure were taken off in Korea, the United States would increase its aid to Chiang and assist his ambition to reinvade the Chinese mainland.

So we get back to the point that negotiations for a cease-fire must be part and parcel of a more generalized settlement. For that, as we pointed out last week, the auspices are still far from propitious. Peking may have begun to regret its intervention in Korea, or at least to count the cost of the adventure, but that does not make its exclusion from the United Nations rankle any the less or modify its resentment at our protection of the Nationalist regime in Formosa. Yet it may be that the approaches of the United Nations Good Offices Committee would be more favorably received in Peking if the United Nations forces were deliberately held in the neighborhood of the Thirty-eighth Parallel.Or if China continued to boycott the United Nations committee, a limited cease-fire might be arranged through the military commanders on the spot or through friendly diplomatic representatives in Peking. In any case, the benefits to be reaped from a lull in the fighting ought to be weighed very carefully against the military disadvantages of a more or less static defensive position. As we approach a dangerous blind crossing, we will do well to heed the warning: "Stop! Look! Listen!"

Bolder New Program?

EVER since President Truman proposed his "bold new program" for the underdeveloped areas of the world, it has been easy to question its boldness, its novelty, and its coherence as a program. Thinking primarily in terms of conveying our technical "know-how," the President asked Congress for little and got less—$35,000,000 to be exact, or something comparable to the proverbial drop in the bucket. With this meager sum officials of the Technical Cooperation Administration have made tentative gestures in what started out to be a movement of dramatic, world-wide significance. And now, twenty-two months after the idea was advanced as Point Four of the Inaugural Speech, the President's International Development Advisory Board suggests that the program has yet to be launched.

Two basic questions have beset Point Four from the beginning: How much can be achieved by technical aid unaccompanied by appreciable capital? And if large sums are needed, where is the money to come from? By and large, Point Four officials themselves have been proceeding on the theory that technical aid must come first, and that it will lay the groundwork for a natural investment of private capital when conditions are ripe for it.

Specifically, they have thought along the lines of demonstration projects and advisory missions. Some 350 Point Four technicians are at present in the field, and general agreements have been signed with fifteen countries. In Iran, for example, teams of American and native specialists are operating training centers in a few picked villages, demonstrating techniques required to drain swamps, spread DDT, instal safe water supply, establish sewage systems, and set up small medical clinics. In India, American farm experts are helping to establish an agricultural extension system, while other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

technicians advise the New Delhi government on soil research, local irrigation projects, and child-welfare work. This is the general pattern of Point Four, the hope being that with the reduction of disease, the increase of literacy, and the raising of food-production levels, a process of economic development will set in that will attract foreign capital and grow on its own momentum.

It is this whole concept of extreme gradualism, of almost exclusive emphasis on technical assistance, that the board appears to reject. Headed by Nelson Rockefeller and including representatives of labor, industry, and agriculture, it has laid out proposals for an annual appropriation, not of $35,000,000, but of $500,000,000, and more important, has pressed for the raising of sums from other sources totaling $4,000,000,000. It asks for a concentration of all American agencies now working in this field—there are twenty-three—into a new United States Overseas Economic Administration, charged with a vast and immediate expansion of Point Four for the sake of mobilizing the resources of the free world as well as for the long-range promotion of economic progress.

The board may be over-optimistic about getting half a billion dollars from a Congress that so grudgingly put up one-fifteenth of that amount. Senator Taft is already grumbling about keeping it on a "limited basis" and avoiding "a global give-away." And the plan for raising three billion dollars of private capital seems to us even more theoretical at this point, in spite of the tax incentives and other inducements that are proposed. Nevertheless, the board's new approach is a great deal more realistic than the idea that the most backward areas of the earth can be made to bloom if only their technicians are given a look at our blueprints and the benefit of our advice on how to proceed.

The truth is that material aid would almost automatically be accompanied by technical assistance, but technical assistance alone may be wholly self-defeating. To stamp out hookworm in Latin America or typhus in Egypt would increase the productive potential of their people, but without the systematic employment of that productivity there would only be that much greater pressure of population on the available food supply. Similarly, it would do no good to free men from the soil by improved methods of farming if they were not to be absorbed immediately in budding industries. Yet even for the beginnings of industrial expansion there must be roads, marketing facilities, and the harnessing of power—all of which means capital, and not the kind of capital that seeks a quick profit.

In short, the board has cleared the air of a fallacy which might well have stifled the "bold new program" in its infancy. Its report ought to be the signal for a determined drive for a far larger appropriation than Congress has so far been willing to grant. Should this drive fail, and should private capital continue to lag, there is still, fortunately, the possibility of inducing a much more generous loan policy on the part of the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The board's contribution has been to demonstrate the need for Point Four and to set it in a perspective that makes sense. The fight to implement it has only begun.

Spain: First Tremor

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

WHEN Franco is overthrown, the events of Monday, March 12, will be called the beginning of the end. On that day the legend of the invincibility of the Franco regime was shattered. The strike of 300,000 workers* at Barcelona, touched off by a strike of students, had two features which are characteristic of all movements of this kind: a first explosion, in which a furious mob lighted rags soaked in gasoline and threw them into the City Hall; and after that clear signs of a directing hand, a controlling organization. Both spontaneity and a capacity to give form to the outburst were evident in what American and other foreign correspondents have rightly called the most general movement of defiance that the Franco government has ever had to face.

The important fact that the movement was organized and controlled was made clear by a number of occurences. In Spain today if a person merely scrawls in pencil on a wall anything that could possibly be considered subversive he is thrown into prison and brutally beaten, but on the day of the strike the city was flooded with posters and circulars setting forth the grievances of the workers and their determination to make their demands heard. Many of the posters carried the significant slogan *Pan y Libertad* (Bread and Freedom). Taxis were stopped and ordered to get off the streets or sent to points where trams had been stopped and told to pick up the aged and infirm. The strikers rather than the police controlled the city. In the largest steel plant in Catalonia, La Maquinista Terrestre y Maritima, and in the great textile combine called La España Industrial, strike committees functioned with impressive efficiency.

People in this country who have thought that Franco's regime was as solid as a rock must have been amazed to learn that such things could happen; a strike of such proportions would have been unthinkable under Hitler or Mussolini. But they must be prepared for other surprises. American news agencies reported that after the strike had been suppressed leaflets were sprinkled throughout the city urging another walkout on April 1,

* The figures given in the press; private reports from inside Spain, received by the writer, put the number at half a million.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Franco's "Victory Day." Last week's strike is only the beginning—the first tremor.

Its psychological effect on the Franco dictatorship will be like that of a sudden slap in the face on a bully who has been terrorizing his companions. The boldness of the one who first strikes back is contagious, and soon everybody who has endured the bully's insolence joins in the attack. The Barcelona strike has destroyed the myth of "external order" from which a regime like Franco's draws its strength. It has shaken the government's confidence that nothing would ever happen in Spain and that to stay in power it only had to increase each year the amount allotted to the police in the budget —and hope for more money from Washington.

The Cabinet met hastily in the night and in its bewilderment decided to send four warships to Barcelona, apparently not considering what an impression of weakness this might create abroad. Afterward it lost what little respect it still enjoyed at home by explaining that the ships had gone to Barcelona on a "visit." Hungry and sad as they are, the Spanish people have not lost their sense of humor, and they are exchanging jokes about the "tourist fleet." But the damage had been done abroad. With rare unanimity the Paris press—from the Catholic *Aube,* organ of the M. R. P., the party of Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, to the Socialist *Populaire*—declared that it would be extremely dangerous to allow a country in which such explosive conditions prevailed to join the Organization of the Atlantic Treaty. Even before the strike, the British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ernest Davies, in a much-discussed speech in the House of Commons, had strongly opposed the admission of Spain. The Labor *Daily Herald* in London declared: "Looking on this scene, most people in Britain will see in it further proof of the wisdom of the British government's attitude in resisting proposals for bringing the present Spanish government into the Atlantic Treaty Organization."

It is to be hoped that the views of Western Europe will restrain the American military planners who think only of Spain's strategic value and Franco's famous "twenty-two" divisions. General Eisenhower had the good sense not to let himself be pushed into going to Spain when he first visited Europe as supreme commander of the Atlantic forces, but when Admiral Sherman was in Paris recently he surprised some of the French by his enthusiastic references to the strategic Spanish bases. In the light of recent events C. L. Sulzberger's articles on Spain in the New York *Times,* to which I referred some weeks ago, seem almost prophetic, especially his story of the Spanish general who admitted that it would be very risky "to mobilize any military units in addition to those at present in service." It is no secret in Spain that even the Falange, as one of its leaders complained recently, is "infested with traitors."

Franco has of course accused first the Communists and then the exiled Republicans of promoting the disorders. But Barcelona, the biggest city in Spain, is probably also the city in which the Communists have the least hold over the working class; and as for the Republicans, to concede them so much influence is in itself a political count against Franco. The background of the strike was indicated in Sam Pope Brewer's excellent story in last Sunday's New York *Times*:

> The strike had a revolutionary character in that nobody made specific demands for shorter working hours or better wages. Instead, it was a general protest against the entire economic position of the country. At the same time it had none of the characteristics of a Communist uprising.

Indeed, business men of all kinds, as well as workers and Republicans, have turned against the regime, believing that its corruption and inefficiency are leading straight to disaster. In Barcelona many factory owners joined the strikers in protest against an impossible situation. Another significant fact is that when the disturbances began, General Juan Bautista Sanchez, regional military commander, confined his troops to barracks and refused to intervene, saying that the dispute was an economic one and should be handled by the civil authorities.

The government announced that "several hundred" people had been arrested—the actual number was probably two or three times as large—and in coming weeks many more people in Spain will be persecuted and imprisoned. The effect on the international situation will soon be evident. While the Socialists of Western Europe, including the British Labor Party, in order not to endanger the solidarity of the Atlantic coalition, allowed the last Assembly of the United Nations to betray once more the cause of Spanish democracy, it will be difficult now to silence the voices of European workers expressing support for the workers of Barcelona. The governments of the Western democracies will have to pay attention to this new world-wide movement for aid to the Spanish people in their struggle for liberty.

Wilson's Labor Policy

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, March 15

DESPITE the breezy and contradictory statements tossed off by Charles E. Wilson to belittle labor's revolt against his dictatorship of the mobilization program, the facts are becoming clear. When industry spokesmen yesterday rejected the suggestion that the Wage Stabilization Board be given power to adjudicate all crucial management-union disputes, they exposed their hand. What they chiefly fear is the possibility that during the emergency of the next few years unions may

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

increase their strength and stability as they did during World War II. "We do not favor a disputes-settlement agency of the type of the old War Labor Board," said John Galt, speaking for the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. Informed of this stand, Economic Stabilizer Johnston abandoned his efforts to solve the labor-management controversy himself and sent the problem back to the White House.

The business spokesmen are willing to allow an enlarged Wage Stabilization Board to settle disputes over wages and other "economic" issues arising from the stabilization program itself, but they don't want the board to adjudicate such issues as the union shop, the processing of grievances, vacations, seniority rules, and dozens of others that frequently arise. They have not threatened to boycott an agency with broader powers if Johnston creates one on his own initiative, but they will not voluntarily agree to help set it up. The reason is simple: they think the old War Labor Board was "too friendly" to unions. That is not the way industry's suave representatives put it in press conferences, but that is what they mean. The labor-relations department of General Electric, Wilson's old firm, complained last month that the "enormous changes" made by the WLB introduced "what some observers term our 'laboristic economy.'" These "enormous changes" had to do with working hours, incentives, vacations, shift differentials, insurance plans, severance pay, union security, dues check-off, grievance procedures, seniority rules—the same "non-economic" issues that industry today does not want the Wage Stabilization Board to handle.

The unions have been told repeatedly that the emergency may last from five to ten years or more. In the absence of a shooting war the government probably will not ask labor for a no-strike pledge, but the moral sanctions against strikes in key defense industries will be severe. And the key defense industries include textile and meatpacking concerns, local utilities, transportation systems, and steel, electronics, and aircraft producers. If there is no government board for settling disputes with power to handle "non-economic" issues as well as wages, the unions will have no forum where the equity of their cases can be decided. They will be able neither to strike nor to urge their demands in any other way.

Instead of the fluid control of union-management relations which gave satisfactory results during World War II, we should have the system adopted in 1917-18, when labor relations were frozen for the duration of the war. Industry would be able to reject union arguments and let the unions sweat it out. A company could refuse to grant a union shop even though 99 per cent of its employees acting under the Taft-Hartley law had voted to demand one. A company motivated by bad faith might ignore the grievance clauses of an existing contract and let hundreds of cases pile up. Lacking means of defending themselves, the unions would be forced to accept a situation undermining their security and integrity. The social advance of American labor would be brought to a dead halt—in the name of preparations to defend our democracy.

The old War Labor Board, which industry now attacks, refused to tolerate such a contradiction. The philosophy of the board was brilliantly expressed by Frank P. Graham, then a public member, in explaining a decision strengthening union security. "It is unfair," he said, "to hold the unions fixed in the midst of a tremendous industrial expansion, unwise to hold them static in a dynamic industrial society, and undemocratic to call a halt to the free development of organizations of workers in the midst of a war for freedom." Well, we are again in the midst of a tremendous industrial expansion. Our society is still dynamic. We are concerned with the defense of freedom. Why don't we act as if we knew it?

For the record, Mr. Wilson's explanations of the union revolt have been as follows: From Key West he said, first, that he really didn't know what all the shooting was about, but added that the labor leaders wanted to decide who should go into the armed services. That is nonsense; the unions are actually worried about a draft of civilians for private employers operating for private profit. A couple of days ago, on Capitol Hill, Wilson told a luncheon group that labor bolted the Wage Stabilization Board because one labor member—obviously Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers—wanted to strike for higher wages than the board would permit. One wonders whether Mr. Wilson, in his self-assurance, feels that he has labor just about where he wants it, and is privately delighted to run a mobilization program in a manner that leaves the unions with a sense of bitterness and frustration.

MIKE MONRONEY'S subcommittee investigating the Maryland election is not likely to unfrock Senator John M. Butler, the man who defeated Millard Tydings, but it is developing in fascinating detail the part played by Joe McCarthy and those other celebrated defenders of public honor and ethics, the editors of the *Chicago Tribune* and Washington *Times-Herald*. It was McCarthy who first asked Mrs. Bazy Miller, editor of the *Times-Herald*, if she could print the tabloid that afterward smeared Tydings with a fake picture and with quotes from McCarthy, the *Tribune*, and the *Times-Herald* itself; it was McCarthy's office that first accumulated material for the tabloid and took it to Butler's campaign office. Bazy Miller, in turn, furnished the wily public-relations artist, Jon Jonkel, who exploited the "big doubt" about Tydings created by McCarthy. She also contributed heavily to Butler's campaign, raised additional sums, supplied the editors and other em-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ployees who got out the tabloid and faked the picture, and found a Negro "family retainer" in Chicago to exploit the justified skepticism about Tydings among Maryland's colored voters.

Monroney's subcommittee will not be able to recommend specific legislation against the methods used in the Butler campaign. The evils are inherent in "McCarthyism"—by which I mean the kind of thing that Senator McCarthy says under Congressional immunity and that other people repeat under privilege, for political profit. But the details about McCarthy's technique that Monroney is revealing will be useful in the inevitable battle to be fought in the political arena. Neither the Constitution nor future legislation can save us from what McCarthy has done, but the inherent common sense of the people may do the job.

Morocco Wants Freedom

BY CLAUDE BOURDET

Paris, March 14

DESPITE the soothing statements of the French government, the Moroccan crisis has forced its way on to the international scene. Reports spread by the Arab League about a "bombardment" of the ancient Moroccan town of Fez by French troops are highly fanciful, but the fact remains that a crooked colonial administration is once more trying to solve twentieth-century problems with the nineteenth-century methods of force and bribery.

World opinion has been laboring under the false impression that British action in Asia and Africa and the lesson more or less willingly learned by the Dutch in the Indies have given the French something to think about. In Tunisia, for the first time in French history, the colonial administration is attempting to hand back to the most cultured and urbane population in North Africa a small fraction of the self-government of which it has been deprived since a French expeditionary force in 1881 dictated to the Bey of Tunis the treaty of the "Bardo," creating the French protectorate of Tunisia. It appears, however, that the French have felt compelled to grant Tunisia a certain degree of self-government mainly because Libya, a former Italian colony and the immediate neighbor of Tunisia, is going to enjoy full independence this year. The Libyan and Tunisian populations are near relatives, the chief difference between them being that the Libyans are largely primitive tribes, whereas Tunisia has been for centuries the home of a brilliant Moslem civilization. A too blatant difference of status between Libya and Tunisia would have led to unrest and possibly disaster.

French occupation of Morocco goes back to 1912, when the powerful Bank of Paris, alleging high moral motives, induced French diplomacy with the help of military power to force the Sultan to sign a treaty depriving him of practically all the rights of a sovereign ruler. It should be noted that Morocco at that time was not, as one would imagine from reading the French press today, a wild jungle inhabited by savages. General Lyautey, the first French High Commissioner, later made a Marshal of France, who was no gushing liberal, said in a speech at Lyon in 1916:

> In Morocco we have found a historical and independent empire, very jealous of its independence, revolting against any bondage, and which up to the last years still appeared as a regular state, with its hierarchy of civil servants, its embassies abroad, and its social organizations, most of which still exist despite the recent failure of the central government. Remember there still live in Morocco people who until six years ago were ambassadors of independent Morocco in St. Petersburg, London, Berlin, Madrid, and Paris, men of a high general culture, who have negotiated on a basis of equality with European statesmen.

However, Morocco was not a modern state in the meaning we give to that word. It was governed by a Sultan supposed to be of the family of the Prophet Mohammed, with almost absolute power. The provinces were administered by pashas chosen by the Sultan from aristocratic families; the tribes, by caids and sheiks elected usually in a primitive form of balloting. Being elected for life, the sheiks and caids usually joined the pashas in oppressing their countrymen. But there were limits to this oppression; the revolts of the proud tribesmen against an excess of "authority" caused much of the "anarchy" and "banditry" condemned by modern French writers.

The French have exercised their power through the traditional channels. The pashas have become puppets, their fortunes so linked to French rule that they can be safely relied on—at least until they find a more powerful protector. The notorious Pasha of Marrakech, known as the Glawi, was raised by the French from the obscure headship of a local tribe to authority over nearly one-

---

CLAUDE BOURDET, an independent left journalist, is the editor of l'Observateur *of Paris.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fourth of the Moroccan population and to a status of quasi-equality with the Sultan.

To insure perfect obedience from the pashas and sheiks, the French have made their jobs highly profitable, allowing them to "squeeze" the population even more than they did before 1912. As a French professor put it, "Before we came to Morocco, the pashas, caids, and sheiks used to milk the Moroccan cow much as they do now, but they had to take care not to overdo it, for the cow had a bad temper and was apt to stick its horns into them. Today the French army and police hold the cow's horns firmly, and pashas, caids, and sheiks can do their milking thoroughly and safely."

THE Glawi's administration in the south is a beautiful example of how the system works. The Glawi collects taxes for the French—gets what he thinks is due, hands over as little as he can. When he travels, when he marries off a member of his numerous family, when he has to entertain the High Commissioner, and so on, the population is asked to help the poor pasha with "gifts." And since the subordinates of the pasha who collect the money believe that they also ought to get something on such occasions, they double the levy.

The Glawi shows equal financial aptitude in purely commercial transactions. He is the sole buyer of almonds and saffron, important crops in southern Morocco, at a price fixed by his experts, practically never more than half the real market price. He has his own farms where he raises mint, a vital element in the Moroccan national drink, tea with mint. When the mint is ready, he forbids all sales and prices soar—until he has sold his own crop. Then he permits sales. He rents at a low price from the French administration large Moroccan national estates, such as the beautiful olive grove of Aguedal near Marrakech; in 1948 he sold the olive crop of the Aguedal for 30,000,000 francs, 150 times the rent he had paid. He forces peasants to cultivate his estates just when they should be working on their own land and makes them supply their own horses or camels and feed them. The peasants who live on the Glawi's estates do not get even the fifth of the crop which is the miserable payment generally awarded tenants in Morocco by absentee landowners.

But the Glawi is an urbane and delightful old man who knows how to extend fabulous hospitality to his guests. Many a European or American visitor has enjoyed his celebrated banquets without knowing they were scraped from the very bones of one of the most miserable populations on earth.

The French administration has stamped out tribal democracy, which might develop leaders who, from the French point of view, would not be "safe." Sheiks are chosen from among "good" Moroccans, that is, those who loudly praise the benefits of French rule. These benefits are not negligible, but they were not primarily intended for the Moroccans, and if Moroccans enjoy them, it is mostly by accident. The luxurious apartment and office buildings, the private houses and great hotels —many owned by the Bank of Paris but subsidized by the Moroccan budget, that is, by the taxpayers—were built for Europeans, and few Moroccans have access to them. The magnificent road system was built for military purposes and to facilitate rural colonization. Most of the estates along the roads, except in barren parts of the country, were either legally expropriated from local tribes in the first years of the protectorate and given to Europeans or later, when circumstances and methods grew a little less rough, were bought by Europeans from the native owners, sometimes through the use of force and always at bargain prices. Many peasants work as laborers on ground which really belongs to their family or their tribe. Their wages range from 60 to 80 francs a day (around 20 cents). Prices in Morocco are as high as in Europe. The European landowners often live in extraordinary luxury: most of them own large American cars, not a few fly their own airplane. European capital, skilful management, and mechanized agriculture have done much to develop Moroccan production, but it is based on the underpaid labor of the Moslem fellah, who has been transformed in many cases from a free tribesman to a rural wage-earner.

In the towns things are both better and worse. Industry has mushroomed, especially since 1940, with the help of French capital, fleeing first from the Germans and now from the threat of Russian aggression. It is estimated that about 300,000 Moroccans are employed in industry. They are better paid than on the land—about 350 francs ($1) a day—but the wages of a European doing exactly the same job would be at least double. French business men say that this is because the quality of Moroccan work is inferior; Americans who have interests in Morocco and French industrialists who use the same Moroccan workmen in France deny that the difference is as great as the disparity in wages. The worst feature of town life is the housing situation; 250,000 men, women, and children are crammed in the atrocious kennel-like developments which have sprung up on the outskirts of the big cities. They are called *Bidonvilles* (tin-can towns). Families of from five to ten persons live in huts two yards by three, in which one can hardly stand upright, and pay 1,200 francs ($3) a month rent. The largest of these tin-can towns, at Casablanca, has 60,000 inhabitants, not including some bony cows and donkeys. There is only one fountain, and a gallon of water sells for five francs.

Such political and social contrasts were bound to lay the basis for Moroccan nationalism. In 1930 a group of French-educated intellectuals organized the Istiqlal (Independence) Party. It grew quickly, and in 1937 many

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of its leaders were imprisoned by the French. In 1944 it issued a manifesto asking for the independence of Morocco. The people believed that the United States supported the party, and a tremendous wave of hope ran through the country. The French reacted by making numerous arrests; there were riots and shooting. Fez was placed under martial law.

Today the party is supported by intellectuals, business men and small traders, and town workers. The peasants are sympathetic but terrorized. The French are furious that the ideas of the French Revolution have been introduced through the medium of French culture. They call the intellectuals and business men ungrateful and brand the working class "Communist-infiltrated." This last accusation is meant to destroy any sympathy which the Americans and British might feel for the Moroccan workers.

The truth is quite different. Officially Moroccans are forbidden to join trade unions, but unofficially the French administration tolerates their doing so. The only union which has granted some sort of equality to the Moroccans is the Communist-led C. G. T., which by enrolling these non-Communist workers has been enabled to appear as the largest trade union in Morocco. The Moslem workers in the C. G. T. outnumber the European—and the few Moroccan—Communists more than ten to one, but as Moroccans are not supposed to be members of unions, they have no chance to oust the Communists from leadership. The real relationship between the Communists and Moslem workers was shown at last year's May Day meetings. In Casablanca, for instance, ten thousand unionists listened to a Communist speaker in cold silence but burst into roars of applause when he was followed by a leading member of the Nationalist Party.

So-called "Communist infiltration," one could say, has been scientifically faked by the French administration, which knows that communism in Morocco is practically non-existent but fears the Nationalists and uses this ludicrous slander to sway Western and particularly Anglo-Saxon opinion. Moreover, when the French administration wants to curb the trade unions, as it does every now and then, it finds it convenient to accuse them of being "Communist-led." Everybody in Morocco knows that if the French allowed the formation of purely Moroccan unions, or even let the Moroccans openly join the C. G. T., the handful of French Communists would lose all influence.

THE fight against French rule was led by the Istiqlal alone until last year, when the Sultan Sidi Mohammed realized that the movement had enough popular support to make an alliance with it worth while. Despite the opposition of the French High Commissioner, he named to his private Cabinet two men known to be in sympathy with the nationalist movement and went to France with the avowed intention of asking the government to replace the treaty that established the protectorate with one affirming the equality of the two countries. In Paris, Sidi Mohammed was practically isolated from French liberal opinion. The government played with him for a while, promising "important decisions," and then sent him home empty-handed. As soon as he was back, the French High Commissioner, General Juin, a small edition of MacArthur, started using the iron hand. First, the eight Nationalist representatives of the Chambers of Commerce, who had managed to get themselves elected to the powerless Moroccan consultative "Council of Government" despite the trickery of faked elections, were expelled from this body because they had "hurt French feelings." All that these exceedingly moderate business men had done was utter a few conventionalities about French exploitation of Morocco—things which could be printed in any French paper without causing the least stir.

Seligson

Sultan Sidi Mohammed

Next General Juin began to try to intimidate the Sultan but only started a feud between the Glawi and the Sultan. He took the American ambassador in Paris, David Bruce, to visit the Glawi instead of the Sultan, pretending the latter was "busy with religious affairs." French papers printed long articles about "the war between the two Sultans." When Sidi Mohammed failed to be impressed, Juin organized an enormous hoax, trying to make everybody, including the Sultan himself, believe that he was going to remove Sidi Mohammed and that he had another Sultan up his sleeve whom he would have "elected" by the Moslem college of the *ulema* priests. Many things in Morocco can be obtained by threats or bribery, but it may be doubted that Juin would have risked the disturbances bound to follow such a *coup de force* at a time when 20,000 American troops were landing in Port Lyautey, the main American base in Morocco.

Carrying his bluff farther, Juin called down from the hills a few obedient sheiks and their tribesmen and promised them a pound of sugar each to "display their discontent with the Sultan's pro-nationalist attitude." Similar demonstrations were organized all over Morocco

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by means of threats or promises, but always without the participants understanding their political purpose; on one occasion the peasants thought they were being assembled for vaccination. This enabled the French press to discourse on the loyalty of the Moroccan people, who "were everywhere giving evidence of their hostility to the nationalists."

In a country with no elections, no freedom of the press, no real trade unions, with French police everywhere and the Western democracies indifferent, what could the Sultan do? After two months of resistance he finally capitulated. The paper he signed contained, to the disgust of Juin, nothing against the Nationalist Party, but the Sultan's 109-year-old Prime Minister, the Mokhri, issued a statement condemning "a certain party," meaning the Istiqlal. At the same time Sidi Mohammed had to let the French dissolve his private Cabinet, and he is now alone in his palace, surrounded by impotent relics like the Mokhri or by creatures of the French.

Immediately after getting the Mokhri to issue the long-awaited statement, Juin entered on the last round of his fight against the Nationalists. Five members of the central committee of the Istiqlal were arrested. In the south hundreds of men supposed to have connections with it were thrown into prison. The power of the French police and of the pashas, caids, and sheiks is so great that little resistance has been possible. However, in some places the use of force to obtain signatures to manifestoes condemning the Nationalists has caused disorder and shooting. General Boyer de la Tour was obliged to fly hurriedly to the Middle Atlas to put down severe rioting. In France the newspapers, except the leftist organs, reprint faithfully the bosh issued by the High Commissioner, who controls the whole information system in Morocco.

The Arab League is boiling with wrath. Happily for the French government, some Western intelligence service doled out to the Egyptians the story about the bombing of Fez. It was a ludicrous exaggeration which enabled the French government to assume the mien of injured righteousness. The Arab world quickly learned the real facts of the French action, but they were bad enough.

At one time the Moroccans put great hope in American understanding. They know that in the Philippines, that much-disparaged example of American "colonialism," 80 per cent of the children go to school—according to Unesco figures—whereas in Morocco, after thirty-five years of the French protectorate, the figure is around 5 per cent. They believed, during the war, that American promises about the four freedoms would come true. When I was in Morocco last September, I had the impression that the people were giving up all hope of American help. For the moment, their anti-Communist feeling keeps them from looking toward the East, but if the present unpalatable system continues, who knows whether they will not, out of sheer despair, fall into some new trap set by Soviet diplomacy?

Since Morocco is meant to become the main American military base in North Africa, this might be exceedingly annoying for the Western world.

Big Dam in a Big Pit

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Huntington, Oregon

ALL the big dams haven't been built yet. The superlatives used so lavishly to describe Hoover Dam and Grand Coulee will have to be trotted out again. At the bottom of a dark abyss of granite and lava along the boundary between Oregon and Idaho, rugged young engineers with transits and diamond drills are probing for bedrock. On this foundation the United States Bureau of Reclamation plans to rear a dam that will be as high as a seventy-story building. In fact, it will be the highest dam ever constructed, nearly 200 feet higher than Coulee, and twice as massive as Hoover Dam. It will produce double the amount of power available at Bonneville. But the dam itself, which will cost $433,000,000, will not be more awe-inspiring than the region in which it is to be built. Hell's Canyon is the name of the abyss. It also will be the name of the dam.

Hell's Canyon is the deepest chasm on the continent. At one point it is 7,900 feet deep, a staggering mile and a half down to the river from the rim. The greatest depth of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado is 6,100 feet. The Grand Canyon is fifteen miles between rims at its widest point, Hell's Canyon ten miles. The famous Bright Angel Point towers 5,650 feet above the foaming Colorado. The summit of White Monument, an equal horizontal distance from the Snake River, is 5,922 feet higher than the noisy stream. In the Grand Canyon the Colorado River drops approximately ten feet a mile; the Snake in Hell's Canyon twelve and a half feet.

If the last frontier actually exists within the borders

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Oregon journalist and state senator, writes frequently for The Nation *on political and economic developments in the Northwest.*

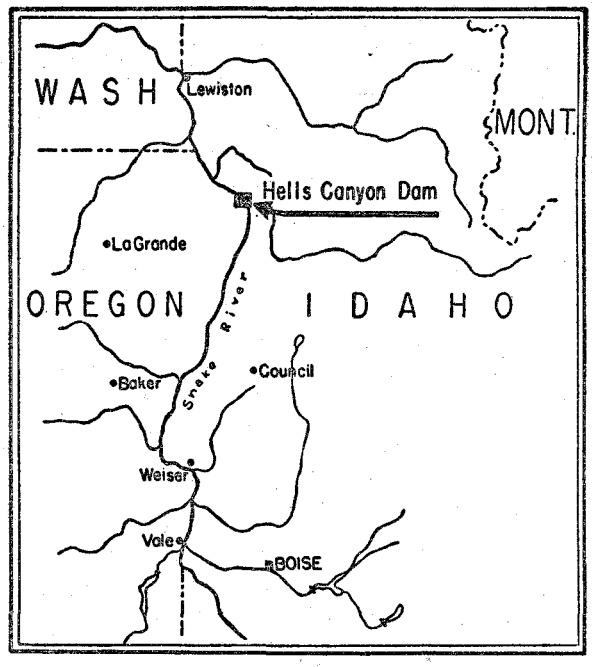
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the United States, it is the great trench carved by the Snake River. The terrain is so steep that pack horses are plagued with ugly sores; saddles and loads shift constantly as the animals risk slopes fit only for a mountain goat. Surveyors descend by precarious footholds, lowering their instruments by rope. Hell's Canyon will be one of the few big dams ever constructed without flooding farms and villages. There are no habitations in the area to flood. No railroads or highways penetrate these solitudes. A major part of the project will be building a temporary rail line along the canyon's edge.

Lewis and Clark did not venture into this forbidding abyss. They looked at its "miles of white water and snow-covered mountains" and then sought a gentler route to the green valleys of Oregon. The expedition sent west by John Jacob Astor in 1811 lost three men in Hell's Canyon. Those who managed to escape from the pit climbed two days and then "found they were not halfway to the summit and that mountain upon mountain lay piled beyond in wintry desolation."

The Pacific Northwest contains more undeveloped hydroelectricity than all the rest of the nation combined. A large chunk of this potential energy is in Hell's Canyon. The towering dam, 742 feet in height, will produce 900,000 kilowatts in its own power houses. And that will be only the beginning. Eventually the Snake River joins the Columbia. By impounding its icy run-off and releasing it during the dry season, Hell's Canyon Dam will add 732,000 kilowatts to the ultimate output of such downstream dams on the Columbia as McNary, Bonneville, and John Day. The 1,632,000 kilowatts which can be realized from the construction of Hell's Canyon Dam will equal the capacity of Grand Coulee itself.

ALTHOUGH federal power has kept the Northwest from being an industrial wasteland, no dam has been erected by the government without opposition from private power interests. On the day in 1937 that Franklin Roosevelt stood at Bonneville and dedicated that project to a new manufacturing era in the region, the utilities released a report asserting that steam power was cheaper to produce and sell than energy created by water rushing downhill. The biggest industrial interests in the country showed they didn't swallow this. When Roosevelt switched on the first generator at Bonneville, not an ounce of aluminum was manufactured west of the Mississippi. The Aluminum Company of America recognized the chance to buy cheap power, and today half the aluminum of the United States is produced along the banks of the Columbia. Indeed, one of the compelling reasons for the construction of Hell's Canyon Dam is that 45 per cent of the kilowatts from Bonneville and Grand Coulee go directly to the aluminum potlines of Alcoa, Kaiser, and Reynolds Metal. This does not leave



enough energy for other industrial users and for homes and farms.

The Idaho Power Company would like to construct five small dams on the Snake River as an alternative to Hell's Canyon, and the political allies of the company are trying to block final Congressional authorization of the big project. The five small dams, however, would not only fail to match the power potential of Hell's Canyon but would provide no flood-control or storage benefits. It was an angry crest on the Snake which caused the tragic Vanport flood far down the Columbia in 1948. Hell's Canyon Dam could conceivably have prevented the catastrophe. The Idaho Power dams would not even have delayed it.

The *Wallowa County Chieftain*, published on the Oregon side of Hell's Canyon, has pointed out that while the Idaho Power Company promises five dams, only one can be expected in the immediate future, a low structure at Oxbow which would produce about 10 per cent of the ultimate power possibilities of Hell's Canyon. The opposition of Idaho Power to the big federal project may be based on the fact that plants in Idaho pay at least one-fifth more for industrial energy than those within the present scope of the Bonneville-Grand Coulee system. Dr. Paul J. Raver, the Bonneville administrator, is a zealous advocate of Hell's Canyon. Presumably its power would be poured into the grid which he operates in the Pacific Northwest.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN requested approval of Hell's Canyon in his budget message. Since Congress is likely to comply, the dam will probably be begun sometime this year. New sources of power are urgently needed for the long-range rearmament program now commencing, and both the Reclamation Bureau and the Corps of Engineers regard Hell's Canyon as the most

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

important site of hydroelectric power remaining in the whole country.

It is to be hoped, however, that Senators Wayne L. Morse of Oregon and Warren Magnuson of Washington will not have to do all the pushing for Hell's Canyon, with little or no active help from Idaho's reactionary delegation on Capitol Hill. Morse and Magnuson, one a liberal Republican and the other a New Deal Democrat, rightly claim that the resources of the region must be developed, but the Hell's Canyon bill should contain a provision that the power will be made available to Idaho before it is transmitted to the crowded metropolitan areas in the Columbia Basin.

Idaho is the poor relation of the Northwest. Rich in phosphates and timber and potential power, it nevertheless has lagged far behind Oregon and Washington in growth and development. The population of Oregon has increased 40 per cent since 1940 and that of Washington 37 per cent, while Idaho, with comparable opportunities, has gained a mere 12 per cent, less than the national rate. A paramount reason has been the grip of monopoly on Idaho's resources.

Idaho has had a weak and ossified Congressional delegation. Senator Glen Taylor was stumping the country for Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party when he should have been working for Hell's Canyon Dam and lower freight rates. The result was Taylor's own defeat and the collapse of the Democratic Party in the state. Water power is the only fuel resource of the Northwest; there is neither coal nor oil. But owing to Idaho's inaction, all the great power projects have been built in other states. In fact, Idaho is becoming a sort of colony for its overpowering neighbors along the seacoast. In the rapids and whirlpools of Hell's Canyon, however, lurks the force to establish a new industrial empire between the Rockies and the Pacific Ocean.

Asia Is Just as Important

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

MUCH of the debate over whether Europe is more important than Asia is beside the point. South Asia and Western Europe are for the West interdependent problems, and any strategy—military, political, or economic—that ignores this fact is out of balance. Yet while the future of the world seems to be in the process of decision in Asia, President Truman and General Eisenhower continue to assert that "Europe comes first." With two-thirds of the American army fighting in Korea and suffering 15,000 casualties a month, they insist that Western Europe is the vital theater.

The principle of "Europe first" as the basis of postwar American policy was first publicly expounded in President Truman's State of the Union message of January 8 and General Eisenhower's speech to Congress on February 1 and to the American public on February 2. Two sentences jumped out of President Truman's text. At one point he warned, "If Western Europe were to fall to Soviet Russia, it would double the Soviet supply of coal and triple the Soviet supply of steel"; and later, "Strategically, economically, and morally, the defense of Europe is a part of our own defense."

General Eisenhower's genial speeches made the thesis seem more attractive:

> Western Europe is the cradle of our civilization; from her originally we drew our strength, genius, and culture. But our concern in Europe is far more than sentimental. Our own security is involved. . . . First of all, in Western Europe exists the greatest pool of skilled labor in the world. In Western Europe exists a great industrial capacity second . . . only to that of the United States. Now if we take that whole complex, with its potential for military exploitation, and transfer it from our side to another side, the military balance of power has, in my mind, shifted so drastically that our safety would be gravely imperiled.

It is natural that the United States, which has come to the fore because of its industrial capacity, should feel that an alliance between the half of the world's industrial productivity found within its borders and the quarter found in Western Europe is a guaranty of victory. This has been the fundamental assumption of the National Security Council, which decides American strategy. As the logical consequence, nine out of every ten dollars of the billions the United States has spent on foreign economic aid has gone to Western Europe, and a comparable proportion of diplomatic study and effort has been devoted to cultivating European friendships.

This emphasis on Europe is in part a carry-over from the strategic decisions of World War II, when the United States faced Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia. At that time the European theater was given priority in the belief that when Germany, with its tremen-

ANDREW ROTH, a staff contributor, is at present in London. He has been in China and Southeast Asia for the past four years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dous productive capacity, was defeated, Japan's defeat would follow almost immediately, while if the first effort were made against Japan, Germany would have time to consolidate its conquests and would be harder to beat. The success of the Europe-first strategy in World War II led to its adoption in the cold war. This was also the path of least resistance, since Americans feel strong ethnic and cultural ties with Europe. Building up Europe, moreover, has been comparatively inexpensive. The money put into the Marshall Plan has been a small portion of the national income but has done much to stabilize the economies of the Western democracies and to check the spread of communism.

GENERAL EISENHOWER spoke of American reliance on the raw materials supplied by the colonies and former colonies of European nations:

> If Western Europe should be overrun by communism, many economically dependent areas in Africa and the Middle East would be affected by the débâcle. Southeastern Asia would probably soon be lost. Thus we would be cut off from the raw materials that we need for existence. Take such items as manganese, copper, and uranium. Could we possibly think of existing without access to them?

Other authorities have pointed out that the United States is 100 per cent dependent on external sources for tin and chrome, 92 per cent for cobalt, 73 per cent for tungsten, 51 per cent for rubber, and to a smaller degree for important items like petroleum and graphite.

The striking thing about the list of strategic materials which the United States does not itself produce, and which it is frantically stockpiling, is that none of them, except two or three minerals, are found in Western Europe. The bulk of the world's rubber and tin comes from Malaya and Indonesia. Turkey is a chief supplier of chrome, and after it the Philippines. Industrial diamonds come from South Africa, graphite from Ceylon and Madagascar. The Belgian Congo is the main source of uranium; India, after the U. S. S. R., of manganese; China and Southeast Asia, of tungsten. Half of the world's known petroleum reserves are in the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

The argument that priority must be given to Europe in order to maintain access to Asian-African sources of supply has some weight, but not much. Slighting the politically independent countries of South Asia in favor of Europe might, indeed, seem to imperil rather than protect access to their raw materials. If the United States needs India's manganese and India is short of food, there is little point in financing Britain's imports of food and raw materials. If access to Persia's virtually unlimited petroleum resources must be maintained, good relations with Persia should be cemented, not with Western Europe. If Indonesia's abundant rubber and tin are coveted, it is certainly the Indonesians who must be befriended and no longer the Dutch.

It is true that the Marshall Plan has facilitated importation of the raw materials of Europe's colonies. To get Malaya's rubber and tin it has been advisable to work through Britain. Aid to France has offered the best short cut to Morocco's strategic materials. The Congo's uranium has been obtained through Belgium. Nevertheless, these strategic materials would have been readily available without the elaboration of the "Europe-first" concept and the Marshall Plan. In fact, without the dollars provided by the Marshall Plan, the dollar-short countries of Europe would have been under even greater pressure to sell the raw materials in their control to the United States.

The Marshall Plan's intensive studies of the dollar shortage have demonstrated how dependent Western Europe is on its colonies and former colonies. Britain was able to discontinue Marshall aid at the end of 1950, not because of any great improvement in its own productivity but because of the billion dollars contributed to the London "dollar pool" by Malaya's tin and rubber, West Africa's cocoa, British-controlled Middle Eastern oil, and Indo-Pakistan jute. Similarly, Holland's current economic crisis is due to its loss of Indonesia, whose exports formerly financed a third of the mother country's dollar imports. France's colonies, too, are better dollar-earners than France itself.

The Truman-Eisenhower contention that the military loss of Western Europe would almost automatically mean the loss of its raw-materials-producing colonies and former colonies is not borne out by the experience of World War II. Although Belgium was occupied by the Nazis, the Belgian Congo remained in Allied hands. And if another war breaks out, an American task force will certainly be on the spot in a few hours to preserve the Congo's uranium. In point of fact, the chief deterrent to Soviet penetration into the raw-materials producing areas today is not the presence of European troops but the conviction that it would mean war with the United States. It is not the small contingent of British troops in the Suez Canal zone that keeps the Russians from marching into Persia, nor the French army in Indo-China that is holding back the Chinese Communists. It is the knowledge that a Russian or Chinese advance would start a third world war.

No one can deny that, after the United States, Western Europe is preeminent in industrial capacity and that it has useful colonial connections. But this fact does not warrant a completely one-sided emphasis on Europe in American strategy. Eastern Europe has today five times the steel production of China, but no commentator would suggest that the Soviets should follow a "Europe-first" policy.

The puzzling factor in the Europe-versus-Asia contro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

versy is the failure to realize that at the present stage of the world's development Europe and Asia are roughly equal in importance. The diagram of power in the modern world might be represented by two isosceles triangles. At the base of the non-Communist world is the United States, with Western Europe and South Asia forming the equal sides. At the base of the Communist world is the U. S. S. R., with the rest of Eastern Europe as one side and China as the other. The effort to make the equality of the two sides clear reminds one of the argument between a British general and the Pakistani commander in Kashmir. The British general warned of the futility of Pakistan's effort, pointing out that India had more men, more arms, more planes, and more factories. The Pakistani officer replied: "If wars were determined by statistics, we should not have to fight them. All we should have to do would be to sit down and present our statistics; the victory would then go to the side with the most imposing figures."

In terms of industrial power Western Europe is clearly superior to Asia and probably will remain so for the next decade at least. In raw materials South Asia, together with the Middle East, is just as clearly superior to Western Europe. A comparison of the human resources of the two regions must take into consideration not only quantity and quality but morale and mobility. Against the 175,000,000 people of Western Europe there are the 620,000,000 in South Asia. The proportionate and even the absolute number of skilled industrial workers and scientists and experienced administrators is of course higher in Western Europe, but the advantage of tremendous superiority in the number of hands should not be minimized.

There is another fact in Asia's favor. Paradoxically the "energetic" peoples of Western Europe are for the moment passive, immobile, while the usually passive peoples of South Asia are on the march. It is significant that Washington had to send the highly popular General Eisenhower to Europe to raise Europe's morale. He reported "heartening evidence of a regeneration of Europe's spirit," but this itself suggests that the spirit had died. No one complains these days about Asian inertia. Quite the contrary—the post-war scene has been dominated by the resurgence of the Asian peoples. Several of the countries of Western Europe have been engaged in political and military conflict with an Asian country, and not one has obtained a decisive victory single-handed.

The cold war has obscured and distorted the revolutionary increase in Asia's importance. If the importance of Europe has not yet declined to such an extent that it now corresponds to the geographical picture—Europe a mere peninsula jutting out from the Asian land mass—it is on the way to doing so. And because the situation in Asia is more fluid, it is there that strength can be added or subtracted most rapidly.

Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

AS Merck and Company, the manufacturer, has conceded in newspaper advertisements, an acute shortage of the valuable drug cortisone has developed during the past two months. A black market has made its appearance; price-kiting is widespread. Sufferers from rheumatoid arthritis and other cortisone users—to some of whom a continuous supply of the drug is a matter of life or death—are frequently unable to obtain it without paying outrageous mark-ups.

This is one shortage which cannot be laid at the door of the defense program; the armed forces are taking only a small part of the cortisone supply. The immediate cause is the soaring demand, which has been stimulated by the fact that cortisone is much less expensive than ACTH, a drug with similar effects, and can be taken by mouth, whereas ACTH must be injected.

The shortage will continue for a good while. Merck is building a new plant at Danville, Pennsylvania, which will triple the present production, but that will merely ease the shortage; to end it, ten times the present production is required. Unfortunately, an increase of that order is barred by the limited supply of ox bile, the starting material for the present process of making cortisone. When a complete synthesis or a process based on a more plentiful starting material will be worked out is anybody's guess.

What are patients who need cortisone to do? For the moment, those with the price can switch to ACTH, which is still in good supply. However, ACTH, a hormone of the pituitary gland, is likewise too complex for synthesis and is obtained by extraction from the pituitary glands of livestock, another raw material of limited availability. A shortage of ACTH is therefore also likely.

From time to time during the past eighteen months there have been enthusiastic announcements of alternatives to cortisone and ACTH in the treatment of rheumatoid arthritis. Four that may be mentioned are pregnenolone, acetoxy-pregnenolone (artisone), DCA (desoxycorticosterone acetate) plus vitamin C, and placental blood. Though scientists of standing were among their proponents, there is now general agreement that none of these work. Consequently many arthritis patients may have to go back to gold salts, a highly regarded but by no means entirely satisfactory method of treatment.

What is needed is drug controls of the kind in effect during and immediately after the war. In that far-off day doctors obtained scarce drugs like penicillin and streptomycin by applying to certain doctors designated by the National Research Council. The system successfully channeled the new medicines to those who needed them most, and minimized frivolous use—of which there is always a great deal, even of such costly and potent drugs as cortisone and ACTH. If cortisone and ACTH were similarly rationed, there would undoubtedly be enough to take care of those who need them most.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Vatican Versus the Public Schools

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

IV. Belgium and Beyond

Brussels

THE two hottest subjects in Belgian politics today are the survival of the monarchy and the expansion of Catholic schools, and now that the issue of a king has been shelved by the decision to have Baudoin rule as prince royal in place of Leopold III, *la lutte scolaire* has become the focus of political agitation. Belgium is being torn apart by the drive of the Catholic hierarchy to get financial parity for its high schools in the national tax program and by the Socialist resistance to that drive. The issue of the Vatican versus Belgian public schools is at least one hundred years old, but it has flared into new intensity since the Catholic (Christian Social) Party captured both houses of Parliament by a narrow margin in "the Leopold election" of last June.

On this issue the nation's policy is what one would expect from its geographical position—about halfway between the French separation of church and state and the Dutch policy of complete financial support for Catholic schools. The northern, Flemish-speaking sections along the Dutch border are pro-Catholic and anti-public school. The capital and the Walloon regions of the south have felt the liberalizing effect of the non-clerical culture of France. While the population is nominally 95 per cent Catholic, student enrolment in Catholic and public schools is in the ratio of perhaps 55 to 45—it is difficult to be accurate because of the many complicating factors. Elementary education in the north is about 65 per cent Catholic; in the south about 50 per cent. Secondary education in the north is a little more than half Catholic and in the south about equally divided. The whole country seems evenly split on the question of increased appropriations for Catholic schools.

The struggle reached a temporary climax last November when Belgium's first Catholic Minister of Education since World War I, Pierre Harmel, presented to Parliament a budget demand for $6,000,000 for Catholic high schools. The sum was finally granted, after a long and bitter debate, but no one considers the issue closed. Twice during the battle the Socialists almost brought about the downfall of the government by walking out of Parliament in protest. If they can force a new election on the issue, the result may be reversed. The Catholic hierarchy long ago succeeded in winning parity in government appropriations for its elementary schools. Catholic technical and secondary schools usually get their teachers' salaries from the government, but not their building and equipment costs. The issue now is whether the taxpayers shall support Catholic high schools on the same basis as public high schools.

As in France and Holland, the Socialists have shouldered the burden of the battle for the public schools, and in the past they have insisted on Socialist ministers of education to protect the public schools against sabotage. But they have never been able to score a victory like the French law of 1905 separating church and state. The Belgian Socialists, in fact, have abandoned their fight against the principle of state support for church schools and are concentrating their whole strength in a rear-guard battle against the size of the Catholic bill.

They have also lost the battle for neutrality on religious matters in the public schools. Religion is taught in public classrooms by priest-teachers who are paid from the public treasury, and the students receive school credit for this instruction. The Catholic victory on this point is not quite so complete as in Italy, since non-Catholic children may get religious instruction in their own faiths where there are enough of them to justify the expense, and no pupil is compelled to take religion in a public school if his parents ask exemption. A child may choose, instead, a course in "morals" given by his teacher.

The new militancy of the Belgian Catholic Party on the school issue is partly a matter of general strategy. The Catholic leaders have seized upon the issue as virtually the only one capable of galvanizing the party into unified self-assertion after the humiliating general strike last summer, which forced Leopold to withdraw as king after the Catholics had won an election in his behalf. That defeat split the Catholic forces into two recriminatory camps, and the breach has not yet been healed. A powerful minority of Catholic diehards, scorning Socialist power in key industries, wanted to hold out against the anti-Leopold strike to the bitter end, but the responsible leaders sensed the probability of a revolution if they forced the issue and accepted Baudoin as a compromise. What could be more effective in restoring Catholic unity than the ancient battle-cry of down with "godless" education?

The children are the sufferers—and the nation. The

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," returned recently from a year in Europe. The four articles of this series, with an introduction showing how their facts bear on the struggle between the Roman Catholic church and public education in this country, will be reprinted in pamphlet form. Copies may be obtained from this magazine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

children of liberal families are segregated from the children of clerical-minded families. The Catholic technical schools, poorly equipped and staffed with priests who lack adequate appreciation of the scientific outlook, are turning out graduates ill prepared for advanced scientific study. Priests are trying to stem the resultant drift of the better-educated classes to public higher education by their campaign for financial equality.

They are aided by the deep feelings generated by the language issue, which they are using almost as effectively as their confrères in Quebec. Brussels has been a center of liberal sentiment, and its university has produced ammunition for the anti-clerical forces, but the city itself is an island in a Flemish-language black-Catholic sea, since it lies about twenty miles north of the language line which separates the more liberal, French-speaking south from the conservative north.

The tension between the two sections is mounting. The bishops cultivate fear of the Socialists and "godless" education, and the liberals and anti-clericals look with apprehension on the growth of Catholic power. The Flemish population is increasing faster than that of the Walloon sections, and the priests are encouraging the competitive increase. (The three top leaders of the regular federation of labor have one child among them, and the three top leaders of the Catholic labor federation have twenty-six!) The cleavage between Catholic and liberal runs from top to bottom of Belgium's social structure. The Catholic labor unions are smaller than the regular labor unions, but they claim half a million members and constitute a genuine challenge. Belgium is the birthplace and capital of the Young Christian Workers (Jocists), who have cells in every Belgian industry and labor union. Their purpose is to deliver the nation to Catholic control, and they are doing an even more successful job than Catholic Action.

THERE are, of course, leaders on both sides who believe that the issue can be compromised, and perhaps if the important decisions could be made in Belgium instead of at Rome, a reasonable solution could be found. Paul-Henri Spaak, former Socialist Prime Minister, recently declared that Socialists and Catholics should recognize that they cannot destroy each other's educational system. But many of his Socialist comrades say that destruction of public education is exactly what the Catholic hierarchy seeks, and that Belgian Catholics cannot force the Vatican to change its policy. "The bishops," one Socialist leader said to me, "will not actually permit equality in the high-school construction program. They constantly use their position to create a clash of interests in the belief that they can win by appealing to the faith of the people. Their agents in Parliament find out where every new public high school is to be built, and then they force a delay of three or four years in its construction. This gives them time to build a competing high school. Then they ask us to *finance it.*"

While the Catholic majority in Parliament is very small—only one vote in the lower house—the trend seems to be in the direction of full government support for Catholic schools. The larger Catholic enrolment is a tremendous argument for such support. And the great convents and monasteries provide a host of influential religious devotees who have close relations with Belgium's ruling classes. The church suffered slight losses and almost no embarrassment during the occupation.

Grizzled, eighty-year-old Camille Huysmans, former Prime Minister and Minister of Education and for many years one of Europe's foremost Socialists, summed up the situation for me in a parliamentary anteroom as the great debate on this year's educational budget began. He said:

> Catholic leaders have been the saboteurs of the public school since 1831. We are in favor of an agreement for genuine equality of support for public and private education, but the bishops want a Catholic monopoly in the control of the schools. They did not act this way in the beginning. They were moderate then. A Catholic is a gentleman when he is in the minority. Let America take warning. You must not be foolish as we have been. Every father and mother should have a fair choice in matters of education, and the Catholic hierarchy is attempting to defeat that fair choice.

Huysmans' statement epitomizes the crisis in Western Europe. In West Germany public appropriations to Catholic schools are causing the public schools to suffer. The division of the country has vastly increased the Vatican's influence in the government, and under a Catholic Chancellor the Catholic population is being used as a cultural-biological-political bloc to further Vatican interests. The American occupation authorities might have had the public school favored after the war, but they chose to go along with the old dual system. Neither in West Germany nor in any other part of Europe are American leaders recommending the separation of church and state as an organic part of the democracy they preach. That part of our constitution, in fact, is considered not exportable; the emphasis is on less beneficial features of the American way.

While our representatives in Europe avoid the question, apparently out of fear of Catholic criticism at home, public money for Catholic schools is the first plank in the platform of every Catholic political party in Europe. In the light of European experience, the small but fierce skirmish in Washington over federal money for parochial-school buses must be regarded as only a foretaste of a more severe struggle—the struggle of a free culture for continued freedom from ecclesiastical controls.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The St. Lawrence Seaway, II

WAY back in the days of President Wilson, when plans for a St. Lawrence seaway had been kicked around only for about twenty years, Franklin K. Lane, then Secretary of the Interior, noted that "individuals, corporations, and communities may rise up to object" to the project; but, he added, "such objections would have only the unstable basis of selfishness on which to rest." Alas, Mr. Lane grossly underestimated the stability of organized self-seeking minorities. For over thirty years the various sectional interests which fear they would be adversely affected if the Great Lakes were opened to ocean traffic have maintained a strong and successful opposition to the seaway. And now they are back at the old stand, grinding their axes to cut down another effort to obtain Congressional approval of this greatly needed development.

Among the interests banded together in the anti-seaway lobby, the Eastern trunk-line railroads and the seaport cities from Boston to Galveston are well to the fore. Both groups claim that they would suffer from a diversion of traffic if the seaway were built. They visualize an outflow of goods from the Middle West—grains, automobiles, steel products, farm machinery—and a return stream of imports—iron ore and other metals, rubber, textiles, cocoa, and so forth—none of which would pay toll to the seaboard ports or freight on the railroads.

In their public utterances, however, opponents of the seaway are usually careful not to overstress this competitive aspect of the situation, for to do so would vitiate their claims that they are seeking to prevent expenditure of public funds on a project which would never attract enough business to justify itself. They will agree, perhaps, that if the Department of Commerce's top estimate of seaway traffic were realized—87,000,000 tons annually—the railroads and the Eastern ports would be hard hit. But they assert that this estimate is fantastically inflated, especially in view of the fact that the seaway would be ice-bound for five months of the year.

This last point is a great favorite: in the literature of the anti-seaway lobby it appears again and again. But while the annual freeze will indubitably restrict the usefulness of the seaway, we must remember that this same condition has not prevented Montreal from becoming one of the great ports of the world, handling more tonnage than Philadelphia or New Orleans. Moreover, although the Soo Canal is out of action for five months of the year, it carries more traffic than the Panama, Suez, and Kiel canals combined.

The original St. Lawrence scheme provided for a toll-free waterway like the New York Barge Canal. Since this meant subsidized competition, the griping of the railroads was understandable, although that of the seaports, which have benefited from immense federal expenditures over the years, had less excuse. However, in 1947 Senator Vandenberg proposed that the whole project, in both its power and its navigation aspects, be placed on a self-sustaining, self-liquidating basis, and this principle was accepted, albeit rather reluctantly, by the Canadian government. The concession did little to mollify the opposition: now the argument was that even if costs were kept within estimates, the seaway would not produce enough revenue to pay its way.

The latest assessment of costs, made in 1948, is $805,000,000, to which must be added $165,000,000 already spent, mainly by Canada, on such sections of the seaway as the Welland Canal, which by-passes Niagara Falls. This gives a total of $970,000,000, about $375,000,000 of which would be attributable to the hydroelectric works harnessing the immense and steady flow of water through the International Rapids. Nobody contends that this part of the scheme, which will make available annually 5.6 billion kwh. at a cost of 2.92 mills at load centers—about half the cost of steam-generated power in the same area—can fail to be self-sustaining.

The question is therefore whether shipping tolls would cover both operating costs and capital charges on the $594,000,000 investment in the seaway itself. In view of increases in material prices and wages, we should perhaps raise this figure to $650,000,000. Interest and amortization at 3½ per cent would require $22,750,000, and with operating costs added, annual expenses would probably total around $30,000,000. Assuming average tolls of $1.25 a ton, this means that the seaway would have to carry 24,000,000 tons each year to be self-supporting.

Considering that the Quebec iron-ore deposits offer a prospective 10,000,000 tons a year after 1956, this does not seem an impossibly high target. Other Canadian mineral developments, such as the low-grade copper of the Gaspé Peninsula and the rapidly spreading oil fields of the prairie provinces, now connected by pipeline with Lake Superior, should also yield growing tonnages for the seaway. And let it be noted, this is not business taken from existing modes of transport but new traffic, to which the improvement of communications will give an immense stimulus. No doubt, in the short run the Eastern railroads and the seaports will suffer some loss in shipments to and from the Midwest if the seaway is constructed. But in the not-so-very-long run they will receive full compensation from the general expansion of trade which is bound to follow when the Great Lakes system stretching to the heart of our continent becomes an inland sea comparable to the Baltic or the Mediterranean.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

In Memoriam

Look, till all of his years,
Foreshortened in your gaze,
Become, as under glass,
A few intensest days.

See? The courageous head—
The brown one—the white—
It flickers like a single
Star in densest night.

Listen. But no sound.
Not even glancing here.
The fever in him flashes:
The love against the fear.

Anxiety in this man
Yet could not kill the heart,
That now is burning coal,
And his immensest part.

The panic, the distress—
Oh, brothers, do not cry.
His love alone is climbing
The fences of the sky.

MARK VAN DOREN

Historical Sources of Totalitarianism

THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM. By Hannah Arendt. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $6.75.

IN "The Origins of Totalitarianism" Dr. Hannah Arendt—a trained philosopher, a discerning critic, and a recognized authority on anti-Semitism—has produced what is without question a remarkable book. It is certainly the most important work on totalitarianism that has appeared since Franz Neumann's "Behemoth." Like "Behemoth" it is the product of a rigorously trained and scrupulously honest mind, impatient with easy explanations and verbal fluency. It reflects the high intellectual level of the German emigration of the 1930's, which has done American thinking an inestimable service by setting a standard that the native-born have rarely been able to match. To a reader surfeited with the vacuous rhetoric that is currently doing service as the discussion of public affairs, Dr. Arendt's book comes as a salutary mental shock. It is good to find a writer who offers her readers no compromises, no escape from the hard necessity of thinking. This is no book to leaf through in an idle hour. It is one to read and ponder during many long evenings. Those who have the patience to do so will emerge much the wiser.

Dr. Arendt approaches her subject from three directions. In the late nineteenth century, she argues, three movements, seemingly unrelated, were converging to produce the type of mind and political activity that was to evolve into totalitarianism only after the First World War. What united these movements was that they all reflected—and accelerated—the collapse of the European class structure and nation-state concept. Class and nation-state had alone given reality to the "rights of man." Without them, these rights were reduced to mere abstractions. With the dissolution of the basic institutions of European society, there were no barriers left against what "became this century's curse only because it so terrifyingly took care of its problems."

The first of the preparatory movements was anti-Semitism. This subject Dr. Arendt attacks with characteristic courage and originality. Refusing to accept the conventional explanation that the Jews simply became the "scapegoats" for unscrupulous demagogic agitation, she seeks out the reasons why they offered the logical target. It was their intimate connection with the nation-state, she finds, that marked the Jews for destruction. As financiers of all European governments, they had won for themselves the hatred of the political movements that saw in the state the enemy to be conquered. But the irony of the case was that the real growth of anti-Semitism should have come only after the Jews had ceased to be influential. With the advent of imperialism in the late nineteenth century they had lost their near monopoly of state business. European Jewry had become "an object of universal hatred because of its useless wealth, and of contempt because of its lack of power."

Meanwhile the second movement, overseas imperialism, had "undermined the very foundations of the nation-state." As a doctrine of "expansion for expansion's sake" imperialism brought under the control of the nation-state backward areas that simply could not be integrated into the traditional political framework. Moreover, the novel experience of confronting vast assemblages of primitive and totally alien human beings taught the Europeans to forget their moral scruples. In the exploitation of Africa mass murder and unspeakable brutality became the rule. For the first time in history racism attained the status of self-conscious doctrine and practice. And it was racism—with its "contempt for labor, hatred of territorial limitation, general rootlessness, and an activistic faith in one's own divine chosenness"—that was most deeply to mark the movements of the future.

Overseas imperialism had one saving grace. It at least "drew a sharp line between colonial methods and normal domestic policies." With the third movement—what Dr. Arendt calls "tribal nationalism"—this line disappeared. In Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism the "concept of cohesive expansion does not allow for any geographic distance between the methods and institutions of colony and of nation." Under the ostensible aim of uniting all individuals speaking a common language, this new form of nationalism actually preached the world supremacy of a master-race. Its tone was vague and messianic from the start. It gave to those whose national and personal ambitions had been frustrated the consoling assurance of their own superiority.

Out of these three movements came totalitarianism—an unprecedented "madness," originating in the "mob," the "refuse of all classes," and led by déclassé intellectuals. With the subsequent declassing of vast segments of the population, the "mob" dissolved into the "masses." These masses—the "superfluous men" of our era—had nothing to lose by following their leaders into the most irrational and reckless of ventures. All they sought was to merge with something larger than themselves, to give up their useless indi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vidualities to a movement that "thought in continents and felt in centuries." And their leaders were happy to offer them a fictitious world that could "outrageously insult common sense" by imposing its own crazy consistency upon a real world where common sense had lost its validity.

Dr. Arendt's interpretation of totalitarianism is at the same time illuminating and open to serious objections. The chief of these is that like totalitarianism itself Dr. Arendt's definition has too much internal consistency. It is insufficiently flexible to allow room for local and ideological variation. On the one hand it leads her to neglect the milder forms of fascism and to concentrate on Nazism—the extreme and hence for her the most significant case. In passing over as pre-totalitarian the one-party tyrannies of Mussolini and Franco she slights what may actually be most relevant to the history of the 1950's. For as examples and prototypes Italian and Spanish Fascism, far more than Nazism, can exert attraction today.

On the other hand, this unitary view of the totalitarian phenomenon causes Dr. Arendt to slur over the differences between German and Soviet totalitarianism. Obviously she knows more about Germany than about Russia, and we get the impression that she not infrequently extrapolates from Nazi to Bolshevist experience. For Nazism she provides a full ideological background. But in the case of Bolshevism we are left with a near void of a quarter of a century between the agitation of the Pan-Slavists and the triumph of Stalin. We are suddenly confronted with Soviet communism as the totalitarian equivalent of Nazism without any adequate account of how it got to be that way. The fate of classic Marxism in Russia, the complex process by which Pan-Slavism transformed it by fusing with it in the Stalinist credo—all this is telescoped into a few sentences.

For her knowledge of Soviet economics Dr. Arendt has relied heavily on such highly personal accounts as Kravchenko's "I Chose Freedom." If she had consulted some of the professional economic analyses, she might have been less ready to dismiss the first Five-Year Plan as "insanity." For Bolshevism conflicts with her definition by being *both* more totalitarian and more rational than Nazism. In Nazi Germany the average individual enjoyed more freedom than in the Soviet Union, but if he happened to be sent to a concentration camp he was probably worse off than someone meeting a similar fate in Russia. We may agree with Dr. Arendt that the police mentality is the decisive influence in both regimes. But we should like to see some analysis of the differences that have given to Soviet communism its greater resiliency and staying power.

Some critics would go on to say that it is Dr. Arendt's whole method that is at fault—that her procedure of constructing imaginary "ideal types" cannot fail to do violence to the facts. Here the present reviewer vigorously dissents. No doubt Dr. Arendt does push her data to the farthest limits of verisimilitude. Her account of the racist tradition in South Africa, for example, is exaggerated even for that unhappy country. But this method has the virtues of its faults. It lights up in marvelous flashes of understanding the dark corners of recent history where the documents can never penetrate. In turning to new and unsuspected purposes such familiar literary masterpieces as Conrad's "Heart of Darkness," Kipling's "Kim," Lawrence's "Seven Pillars of Wisdom," and Proust's "Remembrance of Things Past," she has struck out for an uncharted domain where history and fantasy can meet on common ground. The result may be unconventional history, but it is a magnificent effort of creative imagination.

For all her exaggerations, then, Dr. Arendt has written a great book. Deeply thought-out and conscientiously documented, "The Origins of Totalitarianism" will take its place among the major writings of our times. The record could scarcely be more dreadful. But as she concludes her melancholy account, Dr. Arendt rises above a conventional despair. In the very futility of totalitarianism she sees hope for its eventual destruction. To the totalitarian threat to change "human nature" itself she opposes an equally total declaration of human responsibility. Her book is a moving testament of solidarity with all the "superfluous people" now living out their meaningless days in all the concentration camps of the earth.

H. STUART HUGHES

The Art of Willa Cather

WILLA CATHER. A Critical Introduction. By David Daiches. Cornell University Press. $2.75.

WILLA CATHER was very reserved about her private life, and her literary executors have never released such documents as they possess. That is one, though it is certainly not the only, reason why Mr. Daiches has made his study critical rather than biographical. Known events are cited when they are relevant, but the emphasis is always on a systematic analysis of the novels and stories themselves.

Notoriously the text of a work of fiction is usually too long to lend itself readily to the sort of examination in which the "new criticism" delights. What two different readers remember is never quite the same novel. One must pick and choose passages; there can never be complete agreement as to which ones should be chosen, and never, therefore, any pretense that every detail of the whole has been taken into consideration. Nevertheless, and without any undue pretensions, Mr. Daiches does demonstrate how much can be accomplished by a qualified critic who refuses to be content with the impression produced by a whole and resolutely determines to discover by the analysis of specific passages how certain effects were achieved. If in the end there is something which continues to elude both him and us, if there is some lingering doubt as to what Miss Cather finally intended, that is probably because, as the reader of her last novels inevitably suspects, it eluded her also.

Mr. Daiches's minimum achievement is to establish solidly and in very clear outline certain characteristics which go to make up the general impression the attentive reader gradually formed as the novels appeared one after another. In the first place, and despite the fact that Miss Cather was properly praised for her "American" attitudes and themes, there was nothing of the folk writer about her. She was already definitely "literary" in her college days; professionalism was part of her ideal; and as managing editor of *McClure's* she must have gained considerable familiarity with the methods of popular fiction. That may even account for the fact that she sometimes conde-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scended to employ conventional devices to solve difficulties in the handling of a plot and that she could even, as Mr. Daiches somewhat ruefully points out, begin a novel with the good old solitary horseman who might have been seen, and so on. Her first novel was not about pioneers but about a Jamesian exile to Europe, and James remained her most obvious model. She did not become a writer because she was determined to capture a part of the recent American past but wrote about the American past because, being a writer, she discovered in it a theme.

In the second place, at least one aspect of her favorite theme was related to that revolt against the village which other writers were exploiting in cruder terms. What sets her apart is both her stylistic subtlety and the balance, almost the ambiguity, of her sympathies. Against the epic of the pioneers and their primitive heroism she continually sets two things which are related to each other but not quite identical. One is simply the richer common culture which the immigrants brought with them, their memory of a more orderly, less rugged life. The other is the bright medusa art which causes those who gaze upon it to develop virtues and perform feats of endurance the very antithesis of those appropriate to the pioneer. "My Antonia" is the story, almost the celebration, of a woman who acquiesced completely when fate cast her in the role of pioneer; "The Song of the Lark" is the story of another woman who resolutely chose instead the so different world of professional art. But Miss Cather never plumps for the one or the other. She is not an apologist for those who accepted or for those who refused the pioneer role. As Mr. Daiches points out, the unequivocal failures among her characters are those who either spend their lives futilely remembering the Europe from which they came or forget it so completely that neither that memory of the past nor any vision of a possible American future leavens the brutal routine of their lives.

The most difficult problem is presented by the later novels—perhaps from "The Professor's House" on—in which both the central characters and the novelist herself seem to be progressively withdrawing themselves from any commitment to active life in the world. Ever since her maturity there had been some tendency in this direction, at least so far as method was concerned. She came to agree with the publisher Heinemann, who remarked apropos "The Song of the Lark" that "the full-blooded method which told everything about everybody was not natural to her." Her well-known remarks about what she called the "novel démeublé" are also relevant. And in any event the chief character in "The Professor's House" is a man who gradually detaches himself from his family, his friends, and his career to devote himself to contemplation. "Death Comes to the Archbishop," though it seems to be concerned primarily with the not unadventurous life of its hero, nevertheless suggests by the title that for him too the final gathering together in the mind is the really important thing. The atmosphere of nostalgia grows more pronounced; everything seems to be fading away into a kind of dream; and there is a Proustian suggestion that the past existed only in order that it might be reconstructed in memory.

Mr. Daiches makes this development clear, but I am not sure how he accounts for it or to what extent he regards it as sign of weakening powers. Perhaps it is only what might be expected as the final result of that refusal to make a commitment which is also partly responsible for the richness and maturity of Miss Cather's finest books. In them it produces a tension not yet resolved, as it finally was, by the adoption of a fully conscious detachment and resignation. If so, Miss Cather is at least not the only writer whose most interesting work was done while the ambiguities of his attitude still generated drama.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Land of Revivals

THE BURNED-OVER DISTRICT. The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850. By Whitney R. Cross. Cornell University Press. $5.

THE "burned-over district" may be roughly defined as New York State west of the Catskills and the Adirondacks. It received its name because in the early years of the nineteenth century it was "burned over" by one religious revival after another. But its fame depends on much more than its unusual susceptibility to revivals. "The burning-over process," as Whitney Cross puts it, "fertilized luxuriant new growths rather than merely destroying old ones." In the quarter-century from 1825 to 1850 this region proved to be the richest source of new religious and social doctrine known to American history. Out of it came not only Charles G. Finney and his great revivals but Joseph Smith and Mormonism, the anti-Masonic movement, John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community, William Miller and his followers, who expected the end of the world in 1843, and the Fox Sisters and spiritualism, not to speak of dozens of minor varieties of ultraism and perfectionism, plus a whole gallery of unusual individuals, such as Albert Brisbane the Fourierite, Orson Fowler the phrenologist, and Orestes A. Brownson the champion of many faiths.

This remarkable flowering of spiritual activity has long puzzled historians; but it has never until now received full-length treatment. Professor Cross has roamed the archives and manuscript repositories of western New York; he has gone through the files of obscure country newspapers and forgotten religious magazines; and the result of his patient and exact research is a major contribution to American social and intellectual history. He has drawn the social background of the burned-over district in rich detail and amplitude. Moving out of this background, he can bring revivalism, Mormonism, and the other new sects into fresh and enlightening perspective. His comments on Joseph Smith, on Mormonism and the frontier, on the development of Finney's theology, on the entry of Swedenborgianism as a catch-all for the ultraist faiths, and on the vagaries of spiritualism are the product of sharp insight and steady judgment.

Professor Cross's style is sometimes heavy and forbidding; and he has a scholar's prejudice against the audacious and far-reaching speculation, particularly in the field of abnormal psychology. Occasionally his own generalizations are not convincing: I think he is more to the point, for example, when he describes Millerism as the product of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"deep pessimism" than when he claims generally that "in religion, optimism took the form of belief in an early millennium." But this does not detract from his positive accomplishment in putting together the tangled and complicated stories of enthusiasms which a century ago burned across upstate New York like prairie fires. Professor Cross has written an indispensable chapter in our intellectual history.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Oh, Play That Thing!

MR. JELLY ROLL. By Alan Lomax. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.50.

THEY ALL PLAYED RAGTIME. By Rudi Blesh and Harriet Janis. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

SOME twelve years ago, in Washington, D. C., one of the more salutary undertakings in recent musical archivism was unpretentiously set in motion. Alan Lomax, folklore expert of the Library of Congress, adjusted a microphone near a piano in the Coolidge Chamber Music Auditorium with the intention of making a record or two with a once-famous Creole singer, pianist, composer, arranger, band leader, and self-styled "originator of jazz," the late Ferdinand Joseph "Jelly Roll" Morton.

It was the period of big-band swing music, a debased and smoothed-out variant of Morton's mature ideas; Morton himself, the most creative intelligence among early New Orleans jazzmen, had come down, through a series of catastrophic events, from a life of productivity, wealth, fame, Lincoln sedans, Victor contracts, diamond sock-supporters, and custom-made silk shirts, to an obscure and seedy existence as a performer in a Washington nightspot notable for recurring periods of insolvency. Beset by asthma attacks and a bad heart, with death little more than three years away, Morton still preserved the spirit of a Renaissance lord, an undimmed talent at the keyboard, and the charm of one of the most gifted—though highly unreliable—raconteurs of the time. Lomax, a discerning judge of what to put on acetate, kept the sessions going for almost two months, while Morton uninhibitedly poured out the story of his life, interspersing reminiscence with vital piano-and-vocal work on such memorable compositions as The Animule Ball, See See Rider, Kansas City Stomps, King Porter, Creepy Feeling, Michigan Water Blues, and Winin' Boy. The records, later released to the public in a twelve-volume set by Circle, form a unique and fantastic mélange of autobiography, music, and altogether personal history of New Orleans jazz.

Lomax has now produced a book on this remarkable figure. "Mister Jelly Roll," a series of notes masking as a biography, consists largely of printed approximations of Morton's recorded talk, supplemented with Lomax's own sketchy and pot-luck research. (The number of unconsulted persons who knew Morton is an army on the march.) These notes are fascinating, certainly, but in no sense the real right thing. Mr. Lomax's recently proclaimed theory that the age of the wire-recorder will result in a golden age of biography, through an upsurge of on-the-spot verbal autobiographers, rests on a notion that effective oral monologue—of which Jelly Roll Morton was a master—is equally effective when transcribed as writing. But speech and writing, regrettably—at least for Mr. Lomax—do not work at all in the same way. Morton's spoken words, stripped of their intonations, inflections, and pauses, lose a major part of their charm. The book is heavy with a vibrancy muffled and deadened, "the tinkling piano in the next apartment," the band turning the corner four blocks down the street.

Morton stands in relationship to most other jazz artists as Bartók, Schoenberg, and Stravinsky relate to the raft of thin and derivative "serious" men who thinly and derivately follow in their wake. He was not only one of the best singers and pianists of a period when talent was prodigal but a composer and arranger of a far more impressive and original nature than any of his contemporaries—and there have been no successors. The list of his songs, rags, stomps, and blues documents a worker as prolific as Spencer Williams or Gershwin. His best records—enough to pack an Old Overholt carton—are, measure after measure, saturated with an unmatched insight, variety, and sense of construction, with maximum attention to the resources of polyphony, rhythmic complexity, and instrumental contrast. Along with Kid Ory, Louis Armstrong, and a few other men, he kept the lyrical side of jazz, in recent years so little in evidence, alive.

Writers on jazz are not infrequently of a kitschy and razzmatazz order, substituting spurious elations for sterner and more essential requirements. Mr. Lomax is on a higher plane than this; his prose is serviceable and in general avoids sounding, as such work so often sounds, as if it were written with an old discarded reed of Pee Wee Russell's on some rapidly moving object. But a first-rate study of such a life as Morton's—as rich in "material" as the lives of Cellini or Baron Corvo—would seem to call for the talents of an Enid Starkie or a Francis Steegmuller, with allegiances to writing instead of wire-recorders.

Rudi Blesh, a dedicated and industrious jazz historian, whose writings have in the past featured a Brancusi-like purity in their devotion to the New Orleans school, has now joined forces with Harriet Janis to break rockier ground than that of Mr. Lomax. "They All Played Ragtime" is a pioneering study of the infectious syncopated piano style that swept the country in the late 1890's and declined and fell in the early 1920's. Working chiefly through personal interviews with surviving rag-

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE **USSR**

Just Arrived! MAXIM GORKY

"MOTHER"—Illustrated

In English — 717 pp. — $1.50

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular list price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the list price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time composers, many of whom at times seemed as inaccessible as Judge Crater, Mr. Blesh and Mrs. Janis establish themselves as researchers of a high and tireless order. Their book's main drawback is a warty style that occasionally suggests a mound of dill burr gherkins. Yet its exhaustive working of untapped and important material is compensatory in the extreme.

Ragtime, a mixture of folksong, banjo syncopation, and complex African rhythm, is the vigorous, intricate, highly accented pianism that preceded jazz and has permanently affected "serious" Western music from Debussy to the present. In its classic phase it was a product of a handful of devoted composers, both Negro and white, who touched off a nation-wide ragtime craze. The principal hotbeds of ragtime composers were mostly in the North—Sedalia, Missouri, St. Louis ("the capital"), New York, and Indianapolis; and Blesh and Mrs. Janis have done a remarkable job in isolating and distinguishing the various schools, just as they have in treating such prolix and related phenomena as honkytonk and bordello pianists, cakewalk contests, the nature of early sheet-music publication, Negro Bohemia, the Sousa and Arthur Pryor phase, the blues-spiritual-ragtime cross-currents, ragtime's critics and defenders, and the ersatz ragtime promoted by Tin Pan Alley. Most attractive of all are the sympathy and insight they bring to their accounts of the lives of such composers as Scott Joplin, James Scott, Joseph Lamb, Jelly Roll Morton, and James P. Johnson, among dozens of others, who out of their bounteous and creative spirits have given us such enduring works as Maple Leaf Rag, Grace and Beauty, Sensation, The Pearls, and Carolina Shout. WELDON KEES

Out of Kafka

THE IMAGE OF A DRAWN SWORD. By Jocelyn Brooke. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

MR. BYCULLA. By Eric Linklater. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

LIKE the Gothic romance, science fiction, and the detective story, what we may call the Nightmare Fantasy has now established itself as another of literature's symptomatic, "period" genres. It began to appear in the interim between the First and Second World Wars, and its prognosis for the next few decades seems to be excellent. Its master, of course, is Franz Kafka; its preferred technique, an oblique, hallucinatory naturalism; its subject matter, insecurity; its hero, Anyman; its wishful-thinking image, Someone to Watch over Me.

Jocelyn Brooke's second novel, though its opening chapters may suggest the creative-writing seminar, is an impressively imaginative experiment with these conventions. Its hero is a young man named Reynard who lives with his mother in a quiet English village and commutes to his job in a nearby bank. Since leaving the army, he has felt increasingly restless, rundown, and unfocused. His cigarettes have become tasteless, his Mozart mechanical, and he suffers—unfortunately Mr. Brooke keeps telling us this in so many words—from a "disquieting sense of unreality."

Then he meets an army officer he once knew, and the latter suggests he reenlist. Or perhaps, as Reynard later reminds himself, he has only imagined this. And as the poker-faced narrative proceeds to describe his discovering and eventually joining a secret, half-cub-scout, half-fantastic army encamped in the neighboring hills, the reader, and in flashes of self-awareness even Reynard himself, suspects that this indeed is simply the wishful fantasy of a man who is exhausted with the responsibility of maintaining his own identity.

Some of the details, particularly the manner in which Reynard's unconscious homosexuality, without ever requiring him to acknowledge it, finds a softly mindless gratification in the robust barracks life, are very subtly handled. But then comes the sinister if slightly ersatz twist. What has appeared to be subjective fantasy gradually—but still, never explicitly—turns out to be objective reality. The undercover army and its tattooed emblem of a serpent and drawn sword were not merely props in a daydream of withdrawal but concrete facts in the New Order. Reynard's take-me-off-my-hands state of mind has quite literally yielded a now-everything-is-arranged state of society. For, as always, it is in the moist, decaying dark of the individual's refusal to be his own guardian, do his own choosing, create his own order, that the mushroom of fascism grows.

Though having, I'm sure, no such intention, Eric Linklater has written what amounts to a parody of Mr. Brooke's theme. But this time, instead of someone who wants to be watched over, the hero is a self-appointed watcher. A philosopher of sorts, he looks out for people who are unhappy, and when he is convinced that nothing else can be done for them, he discreetly breaks their necks. His technique is Thuggee, painless and very efficient. In 160 pages he relieves a judge, a streetwalker, and, lo, a psychoanalyst; happily, since after all he cannot pick his victims on a pocket-book basis, he has a substantial private income. ROBERT PHELPS

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE settings designed by Oliver Messel for the Wiman production of "Romeo and Juliet" (Broadhurst Theater) are extremely pretty, the costumes handsome and rich. The whole pictorial effect is very pleasing, and the production has other virtues. The pace is fast, the action is well contrived and makes sense, both common and romantic. In general this is a conscientious and loving interpretation of a masterpiece. But it also has flaws which keep it from being more than that—flaws in casting and characterization, above all flaws in the delivery of the poetry itself.

One may respect Olivia de Havilland's desire to play one of the great lyrical parts in English dramatic literature. But she is not Juliet in appearance—and the reason is not merely that her face is too mature. Its structure is too foursquare, has, one might say, too much character for the part. And unfortunately her reading is one of the least satisfactory in the play. She draws out the vowels, especially the o in Romeo, until they sound like long rounded moans or keenings. She seems to think that lyric means sad, and she makes of a poetic flight that soars and sinks and soars again a monotonous and rather heavy progress that scarcely rises above the earth. She does manage to maintain, most of the time, a ro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mantic if slightly lugubrious mood, but not always; and at one point, in her recital of the terrors of waking in the family tomb, she relapsed into a realistic mode that made one think, involuntarily, of "The Snake Pit."

Douglas Watson's Romeo is a good workmanlike performance, and he becomes more sympathetic as the evening goes on. Jack Hawkins is an attractive and convincing Mercutio. His one lamentable error, which is patently the fault of the direction, occurs when he declaims the lovely airy passage about Queen Mab as if it were a funeral oration. The behavior of the nurse (Evelyn Varden) is, in the early sequences, more bawdy than earthy, and the difference is important. The Tybalt of William Smithers is, as he should be, a lively young nobleman with a chip on his shoulder; he is also a bit surly and so very irritable and irritating that one doubts that he can be as lovable as he is supposed to be. James Hayter as Friar Laurence seemed to me badly cast and badly directed. He is no friar, and his worldliness has a modern air about it that is distracting. The other members of the cast are well chosen and competent.

So lavish and scrupulous a production of "Romeo and Juliet" is not likely to come our way very often. The greater the pity therefore that the reading of the poetry throughout should sound as if it had been directed by an overzealous but misguided elocution teacher —for the poetry is the glory of the play.

As usual, I was bothered by small but crucial discrepancies and wondered again how it was that an experienced director could let them pass. Item: the hearty laughter of the elder Capulet a few hours after the slaying of Tybalt, which is supposed to have plunged the house in grief. Item: Juliet's mother is said to be only twice as old as her daughter, that is, twenty-eight, yet she is played by an actress—an excellent actress to be sure—who looks, and seems meant to look, like a stately dowager.

The most interesting thing about "Springtime for Henry" (John Golden Theater) is that Edward Everett Horton has been traveling up and down the country in this fragile vehicle for eighteen years. Here at least is one answer to the question how actors make a living between hits—or bits, as the case may be—in Hollywood and New York. Whether or not it was a good idea to subject the piece to the lights, and prices, of Broadway remains to be seen. I had a feeling that it might fall apart at any moment. And certainly it is only the drollery of Mr. Horton's face and figure, his speech and pantomime, that holds it together, though this is not to say that the other members of the cast are inadequate to their parts—they are, if anything, more than adequate. The time is said to be 1911 —an attempt to label the play a period piece—and the costumes of the ladies are amusing. So is the setting, which changes from an untidy roué's flat to a reformed bachelor's apartment and back again. But these furnishings do not go far toward filling the empty spaces of Mr. Horton's shay.

Art

MANNY FARBER

THOUGH a common critical practice is to grade Americans as high-, middle-, and low-brows, where taste is concerned, it is hard to tell a Philistine from a Brahmin when it comes to modern furniture. For instance, whenever a tycoon, a dry-goods merchant, a dentist, or an aesthete wishes to put the sophisticated whammy on a room, he invariably buys some of the furnishings manufactured by Knoll Associates, Inc. The first furniture concern to prove that experimental designs sell, this loosely collaborative set-up contracts people like Saarinen, Albini, Jeanneret to turn out fairly radical living equipment pretentious in the manner of an elegant bank vault. Their furniture is geared to the tastes of both the fastidious snob who selects a molded chair here or a floating chest there and the unimaginative show-off who "keeps up with the Joneses" by buying a showroom arrangement, complete to the potted rubber plant, much in the manner of mother who transported her dining and bedroom suites from the local department store.

The somewhat inhibiting spectacle of Knoll's showroom, with Mondrian's colors and Mies van der Rohe's free partitions, indicates the reliance of these designers on the aesthetic principles laid down in the '20's by neo-plastic painters and architects like Gropius, Oud, Mies. Their building style, often called "international," replaced massiveness with thin planes inclosing fat space, disposed of axial symmetry with the unbroken line of skeletal structures, departed from applied ornament in favor of color and texture. However, compared to the fluid integrity of the German and French pioneers in cantilever chairs or arabesque rockers, Knoll's objects depend rather frivolously on fancy colors, over-textured fabrics, and ostentatious hardware to camouflage easy, inelegant building methods.

It first achieved wide acceptance in the early '40's with a series of limply curved birch chairs, made by Jens Risom, which resembled noisy veranda furniture because of the dramatically wide webbing used on a shape slowed down to the speed of an apprentice carpenter. Mortising slightly hollowed struts to simulate a bentwood effect, Risom was forced into more cumbersome proportions than those achieved with curled plywood. The group's greatest defeats lie in their humdrum or miscalculated manipulation of machine-age materials. In her slate and steel table Florence Knoll blends two materials that are excitingly close in texture and tone, but utilizes a trite base and dimensions more appropriate to wood. The result is a heavily proportioned table, designed for demi-tasses and ashtrays, that could support a grand piano with no strain at all. Knoll exploded an inexpensive bomb on the market by refashioning the wooden folding chair with sling seat that had been used by Italian officers in North Africa. The new metal-rod version overdressed the skeletal idea with black and white paint and a leather hammock, and welded the joints with what seems to be a wad of gum left in each corner by your least lovable nephew. It has the form and beauty of a grounded butterfly, but is a bit low-slung for anyone taller than the average Italian officer.

Since relaxation is a vital luxury,

SCULPTURE
BY PAINTERS
March 27–April 21
PERIDOT **6 East 12th Street, N. Y. C.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Saarinen has worked on various means to accomplish the task. His pieces are so carefully molded to follow the positions of a human body that one has to look twice to make sure the chair is unoccupied before accepting its stubborn posture. By raising the shoulders and thrusting the head forward, this relaxing chair freezes you into the shape of a grasshopper about to leap. Unlike his former collaborator, Eames, Saarinen modifies his engineering theories with snob-appeal tactics. The curves of his newer "floating-leaf" chairs are supposed to relieve the need for upholstery, but along with foam rubber and miles of tweedy fabric, there are loose cushions front and back to attract people who tie plush living around their necks with a triple knot. In spite of all this padding, the knubby fabric feels like coagulated oatmeal.

In general, Knoll's art does little more than follow the familiar pattern of what modern design appears to be—without successfully integrating function and form. Its biggest achievements have been to relieve many American interiors of dust-catching crevices, hysterical wall-paper, and claustrophobic décor.

50% OFF
On ALLEGRO L. P. RECORDS
Sale Ends April 7, 1951
Send for Free Catalog
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison
NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BRAHMS: Violin Sonatas..... .98
BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each $ .98
BACH: 3 Cello Sonatas and 7 Flute Sonatas.... .98
CHOPIN: 2 Piano Sonatas; 25 Preludes; Fantasy .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN 1937, when "Card Game" was first produced, and as late as 1941, when it was done by the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe, I was blind as well as deaf, finding in the Balanchine choreography "thinness and brittleness" which I accounted for by the fact that "its point of departure is one of the worst of Stravinsky's pieces of synthetic music." The recent revival by the New York City Ballet Company provided me with an opportunity to perceive at last what a masterpiece Balanchine had created—what a profusion of delightful details he had contrived with dance movement in which his basic classical ballet idiom was enriched not only with amusing conceits derived from the cards and game but even more with the American musical comedy style that his eye, in 1937, had been observing for three or four years. And I was able to perceive also how intimately the movement was related to the Stravinsky music—each completing, enlarging, and intensifying the other's meaning and effect—which is to say that I could now appreciate what a fascinating score Stravinsky had produced. Also contributing to the delightful effect are Irene Sharaff's costumes and set. And then the indispensable contribution: the beautifully clear, precise, and sharp dancing of the company, the charming performances of Janet Reed, Herbert Bliss, and some of the other soloists, the outstanding performance of Todd Bolender as the Joker, which is in a class with his Phlegmatic Variation in "The Four Temperaments." (Important too, while I think of it: those accurate and beautiful high notes of the orchestra's solo horn.)

But if I was wrong in 1941 about Stravinsky I don't think I am wrong today about the sheer nothingness of Ravel's "Valses Nobles" and "La Valse"—the nothingness for Balanchine's creative imagination to respond to, which may be why he produced what seemed to me a mere filling in of time and space. Except when there were Tanaquil LeClercq's amazing gifts to stimulate his imagination, and we got her strangely perverse dance with Magallanes, her sinister encounter and dance of death with Moncion (one recalls her death-like face as she begins the dance). What Balanchine did was to bring into operation his powers as a theater artist, and to create with the color of costumes in a play of darkness and light the excitement there would not be in the movement alone.

Balanchine's "Pas de trois" was added for Eglevsky, only a guest (one hopes) with the company, who also appeared in the "Sylvia" pas de deux, and who exhibited shocking faults of deportment, style, and even technique —e.g. the beats that were, as Hightower once tactfully described Dolin's, "something special." "Pas de trois" also provided a role for Nora Kaye, who was reported to have joined the company permanently, and who looked better in the last performance of the piece than she had done in the first and in her early performances in "Symphony in C."

Tudor's new "Lady of the Camellias" was put on for Diana Adams and Hugh Laing—to give Laing a role in the special personal style of his roles in the Tudor repertory of Ballet Theater. The Tudor public cheered; and John Martin—for whom criticism is a matter largely of taking and maintaining public positions about dancers and choreographers—wrote that the work "may well touch the highest level of sheer artistry of any of the Tudor repertory"; but for me it provided one of the most painful experiences anyone can have—that of watching someone go through the motions of creating artistic life with powers that no longer have any creative life in them. What Diana Adams was given to do she did exquisitely; the feeble borrowings from "Romeo and Juliet" that Laing was given to do he did without his former intensity and projective force.

For the rest there were again the great Balanchine works and the beautiful performances I wrote about after the fall season—concerning which I will add only that the Moncion performance in the last "Prodigal Son" had overwhelming impact from its increased

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brilliance in the opening scenes and expressive power in the later ones, and that LeClercq's performance in the second "Baiser de la fée" had become something to remember forever.

I report beautiful playing by Francescatti in a performance of Beethoven's Violin Concerto with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy on a Columbia record (bass too heavy, kettledrums thunderous); excessively impassioned throwing of his weight around with which Isaac Stern distorts Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in a performance with the same orchestra and conductor on another Columbia record (Brahms's D minor Sonata on the reverse side); the radiant Heifetz tone, the dazzling Heifetz virtuosity, and the affected, arch, and wailing Heifetz phrasing in a performance of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Susskind on an RCA Victor LP record; a muffled and heavy London LP version (LLP-1) of the excellent performance of Brahms's Violin Concerto by Renardy with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Münch previously issued on 78.

Another London record (LLP-302) offers a fine-sounding performance by Rostal and the London Symphony under Sargent of Bartok's Violin Concerto, which I still find "an expansive piece of writing with all the outward appearances of connected musical discourse, but in an idiom that makes no sense to me."

CONTRIBUTORS

MARK VAN DOREN is well known as both poet and critic. His latest book is "Introduction to Poetry."

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, drama critic of *The Nation* now on leave, is Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, Jr., associate professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "The Vital Center."

WELDON KEES, former art critic of *The Nation,* is a painter and poet.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Amnesty for the Spanish Refugees

Dear Sirs: In the first two months of 1939 more than half a million Spaniards, civilians and soldiers, crossed the Pyrenees and sought asylum in France. Charles R. Joy, in *The Nation* of February 27, described the sufferings of the quarter million still there. He did not describe, because it was not in the scope of his article, their futile attempts to return to their homeland under the protection of amnesty.

It has been traditional in Spain, after civil wars and political crises, for the victor to give a general pardon to his former enemies. The Franco regime has not done so. In the eleven years since the great exodus started, a few special pardons have been granted. But the great number of exiles remain exiles because the Franco regime has not granted them guaranties of safety. Not even the families of the refugees can obtain passports to France with round-trip visas. In all Spanish police stations authorizations to go to the frontier are refused to persons having relatives in exile—*denegado por tener familiares exilados* (denied because of exiled relatives) is the annotation.

In his New Year's message of 1948 General Franco appealed to the "Spaniards far from our land because of political resentment" to come back to Spain and offered to reestablish the expatriates in their "private or public activities." Some exiles dared to respond to this expression of good-will, but only a few of those who asked to resume "public activities"—teachers, ex-government employees, and the like—were reinstated.

The Franco regime has not only failed to grant amnesty. After the fall of France the Falangists—contrary to the extradition treaty between France and Spain, to say nothing of elementary principles of international law—forcibly repatriated thousands of Spanish refugees, sending them to death or imprisonment. Among the victims were Luis Companys, last President of Catalonia, Julián Zugazagoitia, former Minister and moderate Socialist, Cruz Salido, journalist, and Juan Peyró, trade-union leader. They were imprisoned and executed after a parody of a trial in which they were accused, ironically, of military rebellion against the Republican government. Never in the history of Spain has there been such a ruthless mockery of justice.

It has been said that the Republicans have not done anything to obtain amnesty for the refugees, but that is not true. The present ambassador of the Franco regime in Washington, José Felix Lequerica, can confirm what I say.

In the summer of 1939 a committee of Spanish Republicans led by Nicolau d'Olwer, last Republican ambassador to Mexico, determined to "sound out whether . . . the Franco government was ready to accept the Spanish refugees living in France (except for a few thousand who, for political reasons, would not go back), according them the necessary guaranties for life and liberty." Indalecio Prieto, the well-known trade unionist and Socialist leader, was intrusted with the task. He attempted to negotiate with Lequerica, then ambassador to France, and with other members of Franco's diplomatic corps in Paris. But as might be expected, the negotiations were suspended under categorical instructions from Madrid.

Any aid Mr. Joy obtains for the refugees through CARE can be but provisional. The only lasting solution—repatriation and amnesty—is in Franco's hands. It is never too late for a good gesture. Even Franco would be astonished with the results if he were to guarantee political security for these Spanish exiles.

JUAN L. ECHEVARRIA

New York, March 1

Gide Judged . . .

Dear Sirs: Not long before the war I spent ten days at Pontigny in Burgundy in the company of some thirty European intellectuals. The best known of these was André Gide.

We lived in the ancient monastery, dining in a vast Gothic hall. We talked singly or in groups from morning until night, wandering about the grounds or sitting under the trees. The afternoons were given to a more formal discussion of the subject chosen for the *décade* by our host, M. Paul Desjardin.

André Gide lived and talked in this company with the utmost freedom. He thrust at me numerous questions about America which I often found difficult to answer. He seemed always eager to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

understand and was not to be put off with a superficial answer. I never found him pretentious or interested in imposing his own opinion upon anybody. He seemed to be inspired by that passionate curiosity about human life which fills his works.

I am glad that the day of Gide in France is over. His vogue was not healthy. But he still was a great writer, a great literary artist. All men are vain, especially celebrated writers. I could not see the "monumental vanity" described by A. W. in *The Nation* of March 10 or the Mephistopheles there presented. Some of the books which he wrote go far to justify such a picture. Others do not. The short portrait you give of Gide is ferociously hostile and one-sided. Gide's "sincerity" is unlovely and decadent. It is not "precious." Instead, it is sometimes terrifying and profound.

It would be well if France had never been able to produce an André Gide. The revolt against him is a good sign of what is to be hoped of the France of tomorrow. Nevertheless, this unhappy figure was not adequately or justly presented in your issue.

STEPHEN HAYES BUSH

Iowa City, Iowa, March 10

MEETING

Long Beach, Calif.

CAREY McWILLIAMS
Is the U. S. Going Militaristic?
Friday, March 30, 8 P.M.
Town Hall, 8th and Locust
Auspices: Long Beach Peace Council

FINANCING

FINANCING—
We will provide temporary
or permanent financing
of $500,000.00 or upwards
for large, established
industrial enterprises.
L. N. Rosenbaum & Son
Financing & Reorganizations
565 Fifth Avenue
New York 17

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

PERSONALS

DON'T FORGET BIRTHDAYS, ANNIVERSARIES. Send dates, events, our notices insure remembrance. 15 dates, $2. LITTLE STRING REMINDER SERVICE, Box 6253, West Palm Beach, Fla.

. . . or Misjudged?

Dear Sirs: It is unnecessary to defend André Gide against such intemperate words as you printed in your editorial columns of March 10. Yet it may not be futile to protest against a certain kind of reporting. Your Paris correspondent has maligned the France press by setting out to tell us what the French are saying about Gide without indicating that he was reporting solely on the Communist press. From the hundreds of articles and tributes that have already appeared in Paris dailies and weeklies alone, it is possible to give the lie to each of A. W.'s statements, since he purports to record the opinion of "Frenchmen." I hesitate to ask *The Nation* to devote pages to such documentation, which I am prepared to supply to anyone who writes me at Columbia University.

Somehow A. W., in his summary of French attitudes to Gide, ignored the most widely read Paris papers. And, curiously, every point he makes is already found in a most unrepresentative article signed Dominique Desanti in *Lettres Françaises* for February 22—a weekly of Stalinist color against which both Victor Kravchenko and David Rousset recently won sensational libel suits. The originality of A. W. consists in extending such views to all Frenchmen; even the misnamed *Lettres Françaises* would have found this hard to do right there on the spot.

On the other hand, A. W. omits all reference to the core of the Communist attack, based on Gide's once embracing and then rejecting communism. Desanti picturesquely characterized such intellectual integrity—a quality A. W. seems to hold against Gide, since he twice mentions it scathingly—as "prekravchenkoism." Even without that touch, however, we now know clearly what your Paris correspondent—could his initials stand for Alexander Werth?—considers "the most vital elements in France."

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

New York, March 10

[A. W. is, of course, Alexander Werth, our correspondent in Paris. Usually when we carry a letter criticizing a contributor, we try to print his answer at the same time, but since Mr. Werth is abroad we could not hear from him in time. Mr. Werth's side of this controversy will appear in an early issue.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Fitzgerald and Money

Dear Sirs: Morton Dauwen Zabel, comparing F. Scott Fitzgerald with Stephen Crane in *The Nation* of February 24, said: "The two men were unlike in many important respects; but . . . their stubborn resistance to the power, selfishness, wealth, and lurking treachery of modern life brings them into a striking kinship."

It seems to me that Fitzgerald worshiped wealth and the power of wealth as much as any American writer I know. He was determined to get it, and enjoy it, and for a while, very early, he did. When he couldn't get it from royalties, he went to Hollywood and got it there.

UPTON SINCLAIR

Monrovia, Cal., February 27

Hope For the Best

Dear Sirs: In one breath you say that it is the North Koreans and the Chinese that have marched into South Korea backed by Russian aid. Then you proceed to criticize our forces for the total destruction of villages because of the activities of a few snipers. Even one sniper can knock off quite a few people before he is flushed out.

When *The Nation* feels homes are worth more than the lives of G. I.'s, I think it is time to call a halt and time to remember that our men are in Korea to save the people's freedom not to preserve their homes. I daresay that there have been instances of unnecessary destruction; there always are in war. But let's get the "big" picture: Somewhere in that little row of straw huts a sniper has a rifle; it has sights and you might be in them; you hope the villagers have cleared out. That's the best you can do.

JACOB D. HAMMER

Red Bank, N. J., March 14

Help Wanted

Dear Sirs: I am preparing two separate bibliographies: one is to treat the work of the German author Ernst Jünger; the other will cover the German resistance movement against Hitler. I shall be grateful to any reader possessing material on either subject—newspaper clippings, excerpts from periodicals or books—if he would send it to me at 68-43 Burns Street, Forest Hills, New York. Original material would be most appreciated.

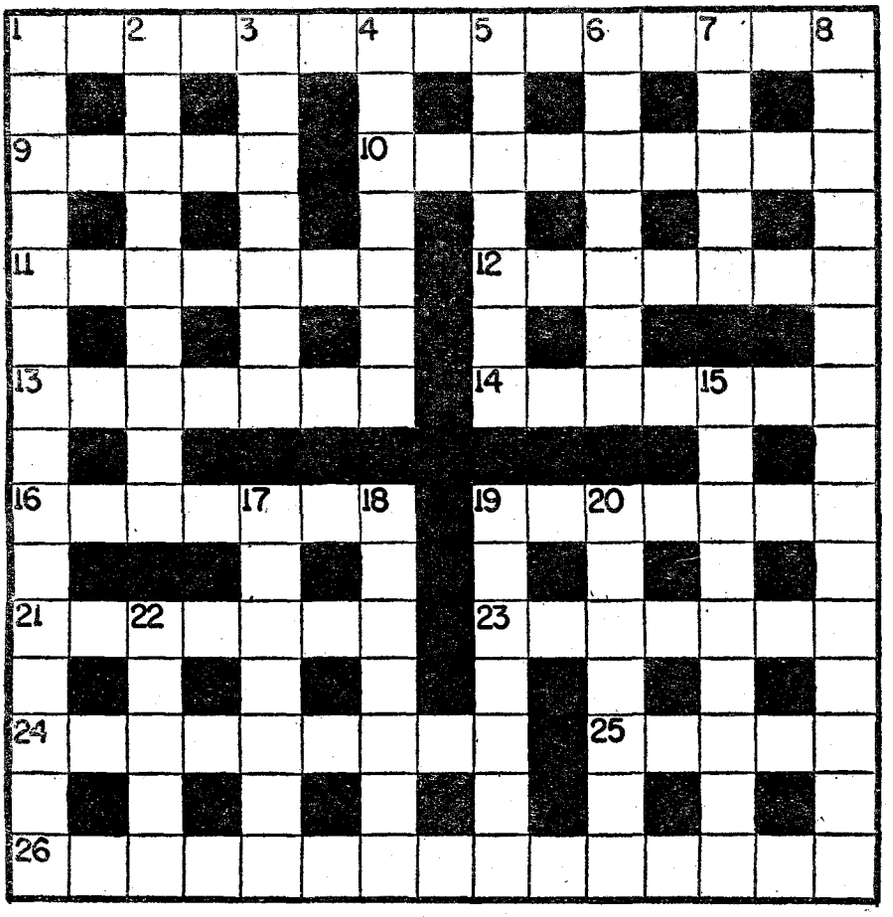
KARL O. PAETEL

Forest Hills, N. Y., March 12

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 405

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Implies one can't be choosy about wine on a rainy day. (3, 4, 2, 1, 5)
9 Shoes, petticoats, and coffee might be. (5)
10 Trifle. (9)
11 Give the proper name to qualify. (7)
12 His rake was progressive. (7)
13 Jails where I start off a bad summer. (7)
14 Studies the same type twice. (7)
16 Able to follow only half the score. (7)
19 A prime minister lost his head for these people. (7)
21 Spreads. (7)
23 The U. N. Secretary General travels about the troubled land of 19. (7)
24 One down is drowned, frankly. (9)
25 Everything reverts to mother! (5)
26 View of the totem pole on part of the deck. (7, 4-4)

DOWN

1 Descriptive of the rest of the submarine crew? (6, 2, 3, 4)
2 The stench may come from the sailors! (9)
3 Seven, at extreme ends of a short street. (7)
4 Strike the little dears gently under the hood. (7)
5 Can't be one of the two in there! (7)
6 Stick to macaroni! (7)
7 We're getting it all the time. (5)
8 George's source of the drink of 1 across? (7, 8)
15 What some collectors prize in a camera. (9)
17 Might almost sound like the B and O? It gets around! (7)
18 A writer's relative in old Irish. (7)
19 Get in with nothing under your arm, perhaps. (2, 5)
20 Radicel. (7)
22 Subject to the head of 26. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 404

ACROSS:—1 PHANTASMAGORIA; 9 APHONIA; 10 TWELFTH; 11 TELLURIUM; 12 AUDIT; 13 CRAVATS; 15 SADDLER; 16 LEANDER; 18 AMHARIC; 20 OCCUR; 21 BREATHING; 23 EPITOME; 24 LLANERO; 25 INTERMITTENTLY.

DOWN:—1 PRACTICAL JOKER; 2 ATHALIA; 3 TONGUE AND GROOVE; 4 SPAHI; 5 ARTEMISIA; 6 OPEN-AND-SHUT CASE; 7 INFIDEL; 8 WHAT PRICE GLORY; 14 SCRUB TEAM; 17 AUCTION; 19 RAIMENT; 22 ECLAT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!
that's EASTER at the Glenmere!
join wonderful people!
the Glenmere
Chester, N.Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: CHester 200 N.Y.: REctor 2-5047

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE
Your Spring vacation will be truly an unforgettable one, in this gay resort-paradise. Forest House achieves new levels of relaxation, rest and happiness. Superb food, fine quarters, congenial hospitality. Two grand lakes, all sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3688

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 820
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings, roaring fireplaces. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

Beautiful HARBOR HILL
COLD SPRING-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK
The country Inn you've dreamed of finding. Beauty. Peace. Good Food. Good Talk.
HONEYMOONER'S PARADISE!
4 Stone Cottages. Open Fires. Ice Box Raids.
50 miles N. Y. Circulars. Tel: Cold Spring 5-2174

TRAVEL

MEET INTERESTING PEOPLE, visit unusual places, group or individual tours, low costs. Write ELAN Neighbor Abroad Travel Service. Box 216, c/o The Nation.

RENTAL FOR SUMMER

SOUTHERN DUCHESS, Studio barn, furnished, spacious, all conveniences, heat. View—privacy—swimming—58-acre farm 70 miles N. Y. April 1–November 1—$700. Box 217, c/o The Nation.

FURNISHED ROOMS

THE ARIZONA, 508 West 114th Street (opposite Columbia University). Fireproof. Singles and doubles. Weekly and daily rates. Hotel, switchboard service.

Butcher... Baker... Candlestick Maker ?
Where will they spend their vacations this year?
Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of
THE Nation
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.
Write or phone today for further information.
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Give to Conquer Cancer

STRIKE BACK!

Join humanity's most important Crusade—the battle against man's worst enemy—cancer!

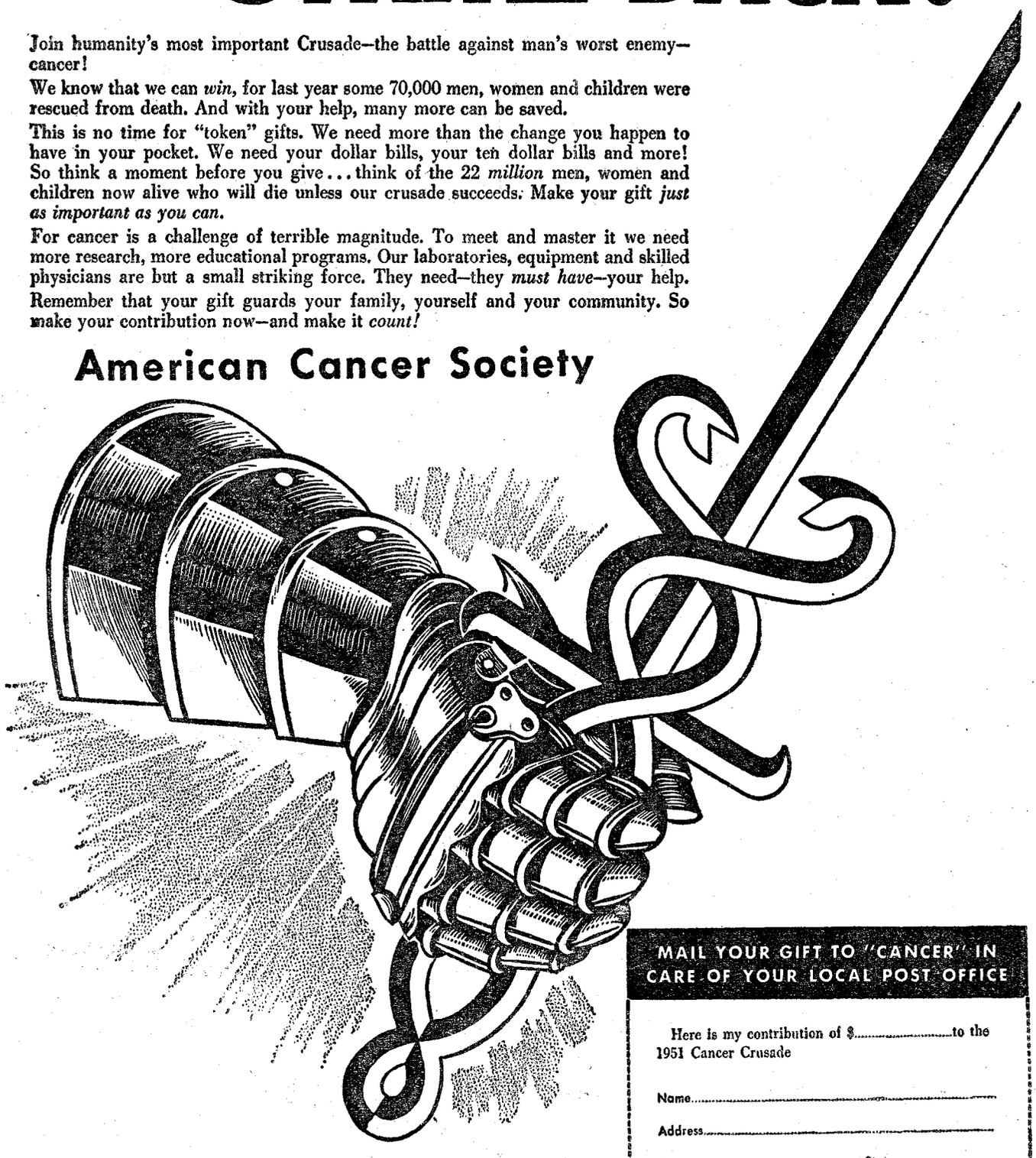
We know that we can *win*, for last year some 70,000 men, women and children were rescued from death. And with your help, many more can be saved.

This is no time for "token" gifts. We need more than the change you happen to have in your pocket. We need your dollar bills, your ten dollar bills and more! So think a moment before you give... think of the 22 *million* men, women and children now alive who will die unless our crusade succeeds. Make your gift *just as important as you can.*

For cancer is a challenge of terrible magnitude. To meet and master it we need more research, more educational programs. Our laboratories, equipment and skilled physicians are but a small striking force. They need—they *must have*—your help.

Remember that your gift guards your family, yourself and your community. So make your contribution now—and make it *count!*

American Cancer Society



MAIL YOUR GIFT TO "CANCER" IN CARE OF YOUR LOCAL POST OFFICE

Here is my contribution of $.....to the 1951 Cancer Crusade

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

(Contributed by *The Nation* as a public service)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED